CERNING THE DEFENCE OF THE HONOVR OF THE RIGHT HIGH, MIGHTIE AND NOBLE PRINCESSE, *Marie Queene of Scotland, and Douager of France, With a Declaration, as wel of her Right, Title, and Interest, to the Succession of the Croune of England: as that the Regiment of women is conformable to the lawe of God and Nature.*

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA ·

Made by Morgan Philippes, Bachelar of Diuinitie, An. 1570.

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Apud Gualterum Morberium.

1571.

in Bibl. B.

A DEFENCE OF THE HONOVR OF THE RIGHT HIGH, RIGHT MIGHTIE and Noble Princesse, Marie Queene of Scotlande, and Donager of France.

The First Booke.

IT were to be wished, that as God and nature haue most decently, ordinately, and prouidentely furnished and adorned manne with two eies, two eares, and but with one mouth, and one tongue, wonderfully bridled and kept in with the lippes and the teeth: so men would consider the cause of it, and the great prouidence of God therein,

therein, and after due cõsideration, vse themselues accordingly. Then should we sone learne and practise a good lesson, to heare and see many thinges, and yet not to runne headlong, nor rudely and rashly to talke of al we heare and see, but to talke within a compasse, and to referre al our talke to a temperance and sobrietie, and to a knowen tried trueth: especially where the said talke may sound to the blemishing and disgracing of any mans good name and estimation.

But now a daies (the more pitie) there is nothing almost, but that as sone as it is perceaued by the eye or the eare, must furthwith be lasshed out againe by the mouth: suche a superfluous and curious itching we haue, dissolutely and vnaduisely to talke of al matters, though they tende to the great hinderance and infamie of many of our bretherne, and though we be nothing assured of the certaine trewth of the matter, yea without respecte to priuate or publique persons.

Of such vnbrideled talke no man or woman in our daies hath (as I suppose) more iuste cause to complaine, then the right

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Excellent Princeſſe, Ladie Marie Queene of Scotland : whoſe honour many haue gone about to blotte and deface, in charging her moſte falſly and vniuſtly with the death of her late huſbande the Lorde Darley. For the defence and maintening of whoſe innocencie in this behalfe, we intend to lay forth before the gentle Reader, the moſt chief and principal reaſons, grounds and arguments, whervpon the Patrones, the Inuentors and workers of al theſe miſchieuouſe and diueliſh driftes grounded themſelues, and all their outragious dooinges. And then conſequently to infringe and repulſe the ſame. For to rehearſe, anſwere to, and repell all their aſſertions and obiections, it would require a very long, tedioufe and a ſuperfluouſe Diſcourſe, in as muche, as theſe iolie gaie oratours, meaſuring their dooinges more by number of falſe obiections, then by true ſubſtantial and pithy matter, to make a goodly floriſh and a trim ſhewe, to face out and countenance their craftie Iuglinges, and to couer their diſordered dealings therewithal, haue raked vp and heaped together one vpon an other againſt their good Maiſtres and Soue-

reigne Queene no smal number of slanderous Articles.

But in al this rablement, in al this raking and racking, what thing els do they, but vter and disclose their owne spiteful malice and malicious spite, to the discrediting of their cause, and them selues also? Euen as the accusers of Aristophanes among the Athenienses did, by whome he being ninetie and fiue times greeuously accused, was yet euery time by the Iudges cleared and found guiltlesse: as I do no whit doubt, but that this good innocēt Ladie wil be (by the verdit and sentence of al indifferent men) ridde and vnburdened in like maner, of al maner of suspicion, that these reprocheful men woulde by their malice and ambition bring her into (by thier willes) with al the worlde. For as goodly and as greate a muster as they make, two partes of their slaunderous accusation are manifest false, and opē vntruethes and foule forged lies. The residue thereof though in some part they beare trueth, and be nothing preiudicial to the Queene in this matter: yet they are ful calumniously and meruelous maliciously depraued, drawen and wrested to the worst.

The effect and drifte of the whole tendeth to this, that firſt they would we ſhould beleeue: that after her mariage her minde was as it were alienated from her huſband.

Secondly they pretende certaine letters, that they ſurmiſe and would haue, to haue bene written by her Grace: wherby they ſeeke to inferre againſt her many a preſumption, as their wily braines imagine. But the moſte weighty of them al ſeemeth to them to be her pretenſed Mariage, whereof we wil laſtly entreate.

And yet though they haue done their worſte, though they haue caſt out al their ſpite and malice againſt her: they neuer haue bene able by any direct and lawful meanes, to prooue any thing at al, wherby they may ſtaine her Graces honour in any one of the foreſaid points. Had they brought forth any ſuch neceſſarily concluding illation, we had not attẽpted this Defence in her behalfe: but would haue yelded and geuen place to an open knowen trewth. But ſeeing that the beſt matter they haue to ſupporte their doings withal, is nothing elſe, but preſumptions and ſurmiſes, which yet are not of the ſureſt and moſte probable ſorte, neither

ſuche, as are preſumptions *Iuris, & de Iure, contra quas non admittitur probatio*: ſeeing alſo that we ought alwaies in criminal cauſes, chiefly when a Prince is touched, who is Gods annointed, to be more procliue and prone to fauour, then to hatred, to be readier to abſolue and releaſe, then to deteine and condemne, and that it is farre better, and a more ſure and more indifferent and vpright way, to ſaue the guilties life, then to condēne and caſt away the innocēt: I truſt and am in an aſſured hope, that al the indifferent Readers hereof (this being the cauſe and woful aduerſity of a Prīce, whēras the like eſtate of Princes ought and is wont to moue and ſturre al honeſt harted men to commiſeration and pitie, and to do their indeuour, to the redreſſe and reformation of ſuche wrong and oppreſsion done) wil with indifferencie, and without all partialitie, weigh and cōſider the allegatiōs of the one and the other ſide, and iudge of the matter, as it falleth out accordingly. Which is the very thing we moſt deſire.

Mē ſhould be rather prone to abſolue, then to cōdemne.

And ſeeing the Aduerſaries throughout al their cauſe, wander by gheſſes and vncertaine preſumptions: let vs alſo, as I may ſay,

ſy, abuſe a litle parte of our Defence. What ſay I, abuſe? (perchance truely, if we had no better, or they any good matter at al) nay rather vſe them accordingly, for the more ample and better trial and iuſtification of our cauſe. We aſke thē then, why the better and the ſtronger preſumptions ſhould not fruſtrate, auoide and ſet backe the weaker and the worſe? This ſexe naturally abhorreth ſuch butcherly practiſes. Surely rare it is, to heare ſuch foule practiſes in women. And may we find in our harts to beleue, that it is now at length found and practiſed by ſuch a Ladie and Princeſſe, frō whoſe perſon, her noble birth, her honorable ſtate and pricely educatiō, and the whole trade of al her godly and vertuous life paſt, do farre repel and driue away al ſuch ſuſpicion and cōiectural preſumptiōs? And whom al Chriſtian Princes haue had in high eſtimation and worthy price for her great prudēcie, and many other Princely qualities, the which ful goodly do adorne and beautifie the grace and comlines of her Roial perſonage.

Doth any man or woman fal to extreme lewdnes al at ones? No verily. We doo both riſe, and fal by degrees, aſwel to all

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singuler vertues, as to al extreme naughtines. Let them shew me then, if they can, any euil doinges in al her former life, wherevpon to make a siniſter diuination, to faſten vpō her their treacherous accuſations. What vnſemely outragiouſe and vnprincely parte hath ſhe hitherto played? Lette the noble Realme of France teſtifie of her demeanour and behauiour. Let her owne ſubiects, that be not her opē enemies, and her duble duble traitours, accuſe her hardly, and ſpare her not. But yet let them wel thinke withal at their better leiſure, and when they ſhalbe better aduiſed: whether there be any indifferent perſon, who wil not both deteſt and vtterly abhorre the peruers and naughty nature of ſuch vngrate traitours. Or that wil not thinke it farre vnlike, that this noble Queene, who hath ſo gratiouſly pardoned them duble and treble treaſons, would euer finde in her harte, ſo to vſe her owne deare huſbande. This is vnlikely, this is incredible: and the more, al circumſtāces cōſidered. For if ſhe had bene deſirous to haue ben ridde of him, as they falſly, and maliciouſly imagin and report her to haue ben: ſhe had good and lawful meanes to ſerue her turne.

Albe

Albe it he was her head in wedlocke, yet was he otherwise but a member of her commō Weale, subiect to her, as to his principal and supreme Gouerneſſe, and to her lawes. By the due and ordinary proceſſe and courſe whereof he might iuſtly haue bene conuicted, condemned and executed, aſwel for the murther committed vpon Dauid her Secretarie, in whoſe body his dagger was found ſtabbed: as for the impriſoning of the Queene, and for the attempting to remoue her from Ciuil gouernment, to intrude him ſelfe thereto, and for diuers other the like pageants by him plaid.

It is nothing like, that the Queene vvould haue ſought the deſtruction of the Lord Darley by theſe meanes: vvhen ſhe might haue opēly put him to death by Iuſtice.

Who can nowe reaſonably thinke, that where ſhe by lawe and iuſtice might haue fully ſatisfied this her falſely ſurmiſed will and deſire: that ſhe would not take the opportunities in this ſort offered, but omitting them al, ſeeke vnlawful meanes to his deſtruction? This vehement preſumption of her innocēcy is much holpen, for that ſhe would not conſent to a diuorſe betwene her and the Lord Darley (as we ſhal hereafter declare) though ſhe were moued therto by a great numbre of her Nobilitie, and by ſuch as be now her greateſt Aduerſaries.

I adde

I adde thereto, as a great and an vrgent presumption and token of her innocencie and pure conscience, that she voluntarily came into England (refusing the offers of diuers of her owne subiectes, who besought her Grace to repaire into their quarters, profering to preserue her Grace safe therein) wher she knew right wel were both the father and mother of the said Lord Darley, a Noble Princesse, that would not see the blood of her nere Cosen vnreuenged, and a worthy sort of men of Nobilitie also, who would neither suffer suche a facte to passe and escape vnpunished, nor so vertuouse and giltlesse a Queene to remaine without ayde, helpe and succour, being with Rebelles and Traitours shamefully oppressed and bereaued of her Royal dignitie. The worthy saying also of the wise *Cassius* is here to be remembred: *Cui bono?* Wherby he did signifie, that in suche doubtful coniecturall cases a man may make a great ayme and cōiecture against the personne appeached, if by the facte dooing he should enioye any speciall profitte, emolument or commoditie.

The Q. contrary to minde of her Nobles came into England.

If the Queene had after his fatal and final

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nde, purchaſed to her ſelfe the matching in mariage with any great and mighty Prince for her great aduancement, or any other encreaſe of her honour or aduantage whatſoeuer: there had ben ſome colour and ſhew, whereby one might haue an apparent preſumption.

Againe, ſhe was not ignorant, but that his death either proceding from ſuch naughtie meanes, or otherwiſe naturally, was likely to be a merueilous great let and impediment to her great affaires. Among other things the teſtimonie and cõfeſsion of diuers guyltie, as they be reported, and executed in Scotland for the ſaid offence, which they opẽly made at the time of their death, doth tende much to the aduancing and approbation of her innocencie.

Theſe men yet peraduenture wil replie and ſay, that theſe are but ſlender preſumptions. And yet were it ſo, that they were of force ſufficient: they muſt yeelde to an approued trueth. It remaineth now then, that we conſider, how ſure and ſubſtantial their proufe is.

Concerning therefore the firſt parte, we wil not altogether denie, but that ſhe was

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somewhat estranged from him: and therfore they might haue spared a great sort of their needelesse and friuolous arguments, and yet flat and plaine lies withal, to prooue the same. But fie vpon the crueltie of these accusers, who were the very authours themselues, and themselues the only workers and bringers to passe of al this discorde, training this seely yong Gentleman by ther guilefull and wily circuuentions wretchedly to conspire with them against his owne deare wife and dradde Souereigne, to the most cruell and detestable slaughter of her trustie Secretarie Dauid, and to the imprisonnement of the royal person of the very Queene her selfe.

The Q. enemies lay to her, discord vvith the Lorde Darley, vvhereof they vvere the authours.

These and many other like pranks and practises, as the reuocation of th'Earle Murray, and of other traitours of your allie and affinitie, without the Queenes knowledge, by the Lorde Darleyes youthful, rash and temerarious deuice to departe the Realme, with many other like practises, purposes and attemptes for his princely person very vnmete and farre vnsemely, ye craftily suppresse, and speake no word of, for feare of burning your owne clothes.

I say

I say therefore, fie, and dubble fie vpon the impudencie of these mischieuous traitours, now to lay to the Quenes charge, and reprochefully to obiect to her the changing of her minde toward her husbande, which rose and began vpon causes, for the which they had bene long earst trised vp, if they had not fortuned vpon and met with so gracious a Maistresse, as I knowe, and they, though vndeseruing it, do wel feele, that the whole worlde hath very few her like. And yet al this your pretensed alienation of her accustomed fauour from him not withstanding, her very motherly care (for bysides al other respectes, though they were not farre different in yeares, she was to him not only a loyal Prince, a louing and deare wife, but a moste careful and tender mother withal) was neuer a deale lessed or minished: albe it for a time she did dissemble and forbeare outwardly to shewe and vtter her most inward hart and affectionate loue, vpon most iust and good respects: As the manner and practise of prouident and moste louing parentes oftentimes is toward their deare children, for the better reclaiming of the wandering mind and wauering wil of the youth-

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The Q. vvas fully reconciled to the L. Darley before his death.

ful vnaduiſed gentlemã. And therefore hea ring and aduertiſed, that he was repentant and ſorowfull, and that he deſired her pre ſence, ſhe without delay, thereby to renew, quickẽ and refreſh his ſprites, and to comfort his hart, to the amendment and repayring of his helth lately by ſicknes ſore impaired, ha ſted with ſuch ſpede, as ſhe cõueniẽtly migh to ſee and viſit him at Glaſco. Whereas alſo at diuers other places, eſpecially at Edenbo rough, ſhe from time to time moſt louingly enterteined, and moſt tenderly cheriſhed him euer, euen to the very laſt houre, that euer ſhe ſaw him. Whereby it did to al men moſt euidently appeare, that al maner of diſ pleaſure or variance, whatſoeuer your con iectural ſurmiſes ſuppoſe to haue bene be twene them, or your ſeditious practiſes and ambitious procedinges had ſowen in their ſtomakes and minds, was not only now we aſwaged and fully appeaſed, but vtterly for euer quenched, as being altogether forgotte and troden (to your muche miſliking and great diſcomfort) vnder foote of them both, neuer to be renewed againe. But forasmuch as theſe men do wel perceiue, that if this be true, whiche is in deede ſo certeinely

true,

true, that they them selues are for the manifest euidence thereof, euen driuen and forced to acknowledge and confesse the same: then their great Samsons post of discorde and debate, wherewith they would vnderproppe and vpholde al their traiterous procedings, as also this their mischieuous accusation and greeuous crimination, the which they had fully now conceiued and brought, as they hoped, to perfection, by the mischieuous driftes of their shrewd, wily, diuelish disposed braines, against her, would faile them and fal to the ground.

For this consideration, I say, they nowe measuring these most commendable doings of the very vertuouse and well meaning Queene, by their owne depe and dubble dissembling crafty nature, their former drifte failing them, began to lay a new foundation to build their long conceaued treasons on: and say: that al this curtesy, fauour, loue and amitie was but a set matter on her part, and coulorable shew, and a dissembled drift and fained pretense by her colorably conueied, vpon none other purpose, but to flatter and entice him to Edenborough to his bane, which, say thei, appereth by her own leters.

It irketh and greeueth them to the very harte, to heare of the reconciliation, and therefore they toyle and tumble from one kinde of lying Rhetorike, to an other, euen quite contrary. For as before they founde great fault with her, for estranging her fauour from him: so now at the last they mislike at her great trauaile taken in her progresse, to visit and cumfort him, iudging and reputing al her dutiful kindnes, as hypocritical and counterfeited dissimulation. Wherin by their malitious construing and wrong interpreting of wel and cõmendable doing, they represent the natural disposition and froward inclination of the Diuel, who hath that name, for that he is willingly and of purpose a malitious false reporter and accuser.

As for the letters they take hold on, and slander her for, we shal hereafter examine them, what weight they beare. Wel then, if ther were such a reconciliatiõ made betwen them, as I haue said to be, as there is litle or no cause at al, why any man should thinke, that the Queene was priuie or ware of the means of his death: so may it seme but mere superfluous for vs, either to rehearse, what surmised difference were betwene them, or

to confute the falsitie of al such allegations, namely seeing that in some thereof they charge the most innocent Quene with their owne most lewd, naughty and wicked deuises, and detestable practises.

The aduersaries charge the Q. vvith their ovvne vvicked deuises.

As, for an example and prouse thereof, the Earle Murray and his counsaile perceauing, that for a time the Queene seemed not wel to like of her husbandes doinges (albe it whatsoeuer her said misliking were, it was, as is aforesaid, for the loue of him, in respect of his owne profit and commoditie) being very desirous to bring home againe their cō-federated mate, th'Earle Morton, who then was in banishmēt, and remained in England for the slaughter of Dauid her Secretarie, without whose presence and present aduice their fetching practises were halfe maimed, and lacked force to take effect: were earnest suters, that if she would pardon him, they would procure a diuorse betwene them, wherto she would not agree. But what haue these good men now done, thinke ye, in this part? Surely they haue plaied the said pageant with this innocent Susan, as the two wicked Iudges did play with the other former Susan. They lay hard to her charge their

The Q. moued by them, to make a diuorse vvith the L. Darley.

owne naughty and wicked counsel and deuise. It were therefore but a vaine and lost labour for vs, to stay and tarie long vpon the confutation of their owne craftie malicious inuentions and procedinges, in procuring an alienation of the Queenes minde from her deare and wel beloued husband, or vpon any other alienation whatsoeuer: it so being, that they them selues can not denie, but that there folowed a good pacification and reconciliation betwene them.

The accusation touching letters sent by her to the Earle Bothevvel

We wil consequently therfore consider the second principal point of our discourse. For they say, that they haue a sufficiēt prouf to iustifie the chiefest part of their accusation. A proper iustification, pardie. This, this is their ioly witnesse, this is their singuler iewel, whereby they set much store, the value whereof in their eyesight they repute and accompt as of an inestimable treasure. This most necessary witnesse they haue alwaies attendant at hand and ready at a beck to serue their turne at a pinche, when nede requireth, for al their purposes and attēpts.

If ye doubt of the veritie of any parte of their accusations, this witnesse, though ye neuer sawe nor heard of any suche thing,

wil ful faire bleate it out, and make al things according to their mind as cleare as Cristal or as the bright shining sonne. So that if this witnesse once faileth them, then al their accusation faileth them therewith, and by and by quaileth. And soothly this witnesse yet, al this notwithstanding, what else is it, but a blind and deafe and a dõme testimonie of certaine obscure letters, written and indited (as they most falsly, and as vainely auouche, and hitherto were neuer able to proue) by the Queene to the Earle Bothwel.

The vnlikely tale of the Earle Bothvvelles letters surmised to be sent to Master Balfoure.

It is forsooth a boxe of letters taken from one Doughleysh, who was executed for the Lorde Darleyes death, the Earles man forsooth: whiche letters he receiued at Edenborough of one Sir Iames Balfoure, to conuey to his Master. Thus say they. But we say to you, as is sayd in Terence: *Non sunt hae satis diuisa temporibus.* The very time, if nothing else were, bewraieth you, and your whole cause withal. Is it to be thought, that either the Earle would send to the said Sir Iames, who had before assisted the faction against the Quene with the force and stregth of Edenborough Castle, and driuen from thence the very Earle him selfe: or that the

ſaid Sir Iames would ſend any ſuch thing to the Earle? Is it likely? Is it credible? Had the forger and inuentour of this tale by ſeemely conueiance parted and diuided the diſtinction of his times? Howe ſay ye? Whereas nowe it is in no caſe to be ſuppoſed or coniectured, that ſuche a wiſe, vertuous Ladie would ſende any ſuche letters: yet putting the caſe that ſhe had ſent them, it is not to be thought, that either the receauer thereof, or that ſhe her ſelfe, whome ye conceaue to haue ſent them, would haue ſuffred them, for the haſarding of her eſtimation and honour, to remaine vndefaced: namely ſeeing there was a ſpecial mention made, and warning geuen forthwith to burn them, and make them away.

In caſe the ſurmiſed letters vvere ſent by the Q. they can make no good proufe againſt her.

Neuertheleſſe when you haue take your beſt aduantage you can of them: ſuch kinde of letters miſsiue and Epiſtles, eſpecially not conteining any expreſſe commaundement of any vnlawful acte or deede to be committed and perpetrated, not ratifiyng or ſpecifiyng the accomplifhment of any ſuch facte already paſt, but by vnſure and vncerteſſie gheſſes, aymes and coniecturall ſuppoſinges, are not able in any wiſe to make

a lawful presumption, much lesse any good and substantial proufe, not only against your Soueraigne and Prince, but not so muche as against the pooreſt woman or simpleſt wretched creature in al Scotland.

Surely the Ciuil lawe willeth, that in criminal matters (for such are these) the accusers alleage and bring foorth nothing, but that they may be able to approue and iustifie by the testimonie of good and lawefull witnesses, or by some other most manifest, cleare and euident proufe or presumptions. *Sciant cuncti accusatores, eam se rem deferre in publicam notionem debere, quæ munita sit idoneis testibus, vel instructa apertissimis documentis, vel indicijs ad probationem indubitatis & luce clarioribus expedita.* This rule ought to be obserued and kept in the simpleſt and seelieſt poore mans cause, that is: and thinke you nowe, you moſte vngrate and vnthankefull subiectes, that ye maye lawefullye take armes against your Maistresse and your moſte benigne Queene, that ye maye caſte her into vile prison, and spoyle her of her Croune, and (whiche is more) of her good and honourable name, fame, and estimation: and

L. fin. e de Probat. What exquisite proufes be required in criminal causes.

The ſurmiſed letters neither haue ſuperſcriptiõ of the vvriter, nor ſubſcription, neitherany date, neither ſigned nor ſealed, and the bearer neuer knovvẽ

then bleare mennes eies, and face the world out with the ſhew of theſe letters, as it were with a carde of ten? But yet, ſay you, they are her letters? She denieth them, and we denie them to. There is neither ſubſcription of the writer, nor ſuperſcriptiõ vnto whom they were directed: they are neither ſealed nor ſigned, there appeareth neither date, wherein they were dated, neither day, nor moneth. There is no mention made of the bearer, who is, as it may be ſuppoſed, for any name he beareth, the man in the Moone He was neuer yet knowen, nor herd of, that did either receaue, or deliuer them. For as for him that ye ſurmiſe was the bearer of them, and whome you haue executed of late for the ſaid murther: he at the time of his ſaid execution tooke it vpon his death, as he ſhould anſwere before God, that he neuer caried any ſuch letters, nor that the Queene was participant, nor of coũſayle in the cauſe. Think ye, that wiſe and expert mẽ are ignorant, how perilous and dangerous a matter it is, to faſten any good prouſe vpon illation of letters, and how eaſy it is to ſome men, to imitate and counterfeat any character? The which a Knight lately deceaſed in England could

He that vvas the ſurmiſed bearer, at his death denied the ſame.

An eaſy thing to coũterfeit a mans hande.

could ſo liuely and ſubtilely doe, that he who wrote moſte crabbedly and vnleageably, could hardly diſcerne his owne hande writing from the Knights counterfeiting hande.

But who conferred theſe letters, I pray you, with your Queenes owne hande writing? Dare you to warrant them, in this ſo perilous and weighty a cauſe, to haue bene ſo exquiſitely and ſo exactly vewed and conferred with al ſuche dewe circumſtances, as the Ciuil law doth require, were it but a Ciuil or a money matter? You wil peraduenture anſwere, that there was dew collation by you made. O perfecte and worthy collation. O meete and apt men for ſuche a purpoſe.

As though it is not notoriouſly knowen throughout the worlde, that ye are her moſt mortal enemies: as though theſe counterfeit letters were not the vnderpropped poſtes and vpholders of your whole treachery and vſurped kingdome: as though that many in Scotlande could not expreſſe, and reſemble, and counterfeit in their writinges the Queenes very character: and as though there were not among your ſelues

ſome

These letters were fained and contriued by the Queenes Aduersaries.

some singuler artificer in this hãdycraft, and that hath sent letters also in her very name, aswel into Englande, as to other places besides, without either her commaundement, or knowledge. How can I chose then, but say, that this deede is your shamefull handy-craft, and not her hand writing? Yea surely, al this is your owne fained forging and most vile counterfeiting.

If ye be angry with me, for thus saying by you, I hope you wil be sone colde with me againe: seeing that I wil not bring out any dead witnesses, as ye craftily do, contrary to reason and lawe: *Quia testibus, non testimonijs credendum est*: nor suche like, but good, sufficient and lawful witnesses, suche as ye can not by any iust exception or tergiuersation auoyde or elude. And these are none other, but euen your owne selues.

For either you must bring foorth good and apparent witnesses, to prooue it her hande: or some suche as were priuie to the meaning of the sayd letters: whiche ye neyther yet haue done, nor are likely euer to doo. Or ye must graunte, that you were priuie to them your selues with

the

the Queene, or at leaſt with the ſaid Earle, whom ye ſurmiſe to haue receaued theſe letters: or that al this is by you maliciouſly driuen and concluded.

If ye graunt vs, that ye were priuie of the ſaied letters: we truſte then you wilbe good to the Queene, and if it were but for your owne honeſties ſake. If ye denie that, and withal that you were the contriuers thereof your ſelues: we pray you to tel vs, and bluſh not, how you could ſo readily and ſo directly hit the interpretation of theſe wordes (our affaires) and what theſe wordes ſhould meane, there being ſo many affaires, as ye pretende in theſe your fayned falſe letters, betwene the Queene and the Earle.

That only thing, that by theſe wordes ye ſurmiſe, pretende and coniecture, I ſuppoſe, that if you were wel examined of this point vpon the ſodaine, and were vrged and vehemently preſſed by any indifferent and vpright Iudge, you woulde be ſomewhat to ſeeke. And yet take at your leaſure as good aduiſement, and as long conſultatiō with your ſelues, as ye can and may thinke meete, and ſeke as many fine

fetches

fetches, as ye liſt: ye neuer ſhall ſhift it of with honeſtie, nor wel ridde your handes thereof. Whereof I for my part do take my ſelfe ful aſſured, and therefore do thinke it a nedeleſſe diſcourſe for me, to make any further deſcant vpon ſuche an vnpleaſant, iarring and vntuneable plaine ſong of your owne ſetting and making: and am right wel contented, that ye do make as gaye gloſing comments and interpretations, as ye liſt, and as your cunning and ſkil wil ſerue you, to theſe your owne ſhameful vntrue textes.

But now weigh and conſider with your ſelues, I hartily pray you, and ſee whether that al your legerdemaine and cloſe conueiances in your falſe play, aſwel touching and concerning your fit iugling boxe, as al your other like trickes and cunning illuſions, be not fully eſpied, and plainely and openly inough laied out to eche mans eye to behold and vew. And as touching your ſaid iugling boxe, you haue ben very fouly and meruelouſly ouerſene in the cloſe and cleane conueiãce of your fingers, for that a man more then halfe blinde may perfectly ſee and perceaue your foule play, foras much as the very ſelfe ſaid Doughleiſh, whom amõg other

ye ex-

ye executed and ridde out of the way, hath ſaid and ſufficiētly declared for the Quenes innocencie.

Nay, nay, perhaps you wil ſay, although our letters, although our dead witneſſes, and although our other matters faile vs: yet we hope, that the litle faint mourning ſhe made for his death, the acquital of the Earle and her pretēded mariage with him wil help your cauſe, and geue teſtimony againſt her. And why ſo, I pray you? Was not his body enbalmed, inſeared and interred byſides the Queenes father, the late King Iames, accōpanied with Iuſtice Clerke, the Lorde of Traquarre and with diuers other Gentlemē? The ceremonies in deede were the fewer, bycauſe that the greateſt parte of the Counſaile were Proteſtantes, and had before enterred their owne parentes without accuſtomed ſolennities of ceremonies. Neither is there any ſuche order or cuſtome, as ye pretende and make your reckning of, for the reſeruation of the corps forty dayes, nor any ſuch obſeruation was kept and vſed about the corps of the very father of the Prince: neither yet was there any ſuch order taken or appointed by the Counſaile for the enterring

Ananſvver to the Aduerſaries obiectiōs, that the Queene did not mourne the death of the L. Darley.

terring of the ſaid Lord Darleyes bodie in ſuch ſorte as ye notifie, but euen directly to the cõtrary. Yea, ye are as litle able to proue that there hath ben any ſuch cuſtomarie ſolemnitie obſerued of ſo ſtraight and ſtrange a mourning, as ye moſt ſeuerely would reſtraine and bind the Queene vnto: as ye be able to proue the reſidue of the premiſſes. But in caſe ye could wel iuſtifie ſome ſuch vſual order, yet ſhal ye neuer be able to ſhew, that it doth extend and apperteine to ſuche kinde of Queenes, as ſhe is. For they mourne their huſbands, who were Kings: her Grace mourneth after an other ſort: ſhe a Prince, her huſbande a priuate man and a ſubiect. They, as women moſt cõmonly do, take their honour and chief dignitie of their huſbandes. Her huſbandes encreaſe of aduancement came by his matching with her.

L. Liberor. ff. de his qui notantur inf.

And further, women by the Ciuil law are in diuers caſes diſcharged and excuſed for their omitting thereof, and forbearing their ſo doing. And yet did this good gentle Ladye bemone, euen ſuche a one, a notable time, enioying and vſing none other then candle-light, as was knowen to al the Nobilitie of Scotland, and alſo to one M. Henrie Killi-

graie

graie, who was sent thither from Englande to her comfort, according to the vse and maner of Princes. Who had a longer time in this lamẽting wise cõtinued, had she not ben moste earnestly dehorted by the vehement exhortatiõs and persuasiõs of her Coũsaile: who were moued therto by her Physitians informatiõs, declaring to them the great and imminẽt dãgers of her health and life, if she did not in al spede breake vp and leaue that kind of close and solitarie life, and repaire to some good opẽ and holsome aire: which she did being this aduised, and earnestly thereto solicited by her said Coũsaile. Al which yet not withstanding, this her fact is with these most seuere and graue Censors takẽ for and reputed, as the very next sin of al to the most greuous sinne against the holy Ghoste. But ô good pitiful men, who for the very tender loue and singuler affection, which you did euer beare to the L. Darley (the which truly was so vehemẽt, that for your exceding hot and feruẽt loue towards him, ye euer sought his harts blood) do now so pitifully bewaile him? But if she had by reason of the closenes of the aire, and somewhat lõger cõtinuãce in her mourning place, and in her desolate and

doleful

doleful eſtate, accelerated her owne death withal: then had ſhe by the Earle Murraies and his adherents goſtly iudgements mourned like a good honeſt wife, and to their beſt cõtentation: it being the right way, and readieſt meanes to haue conueied and brought the ſaid Earle to that place, whereunto he ſo long and ſo greedily aſpired, and the which now at the length he hath atchieued and atteined.

As for the reſidue of their ſaynges, if there be any fault in the Queene: it ſurely falleth dubble and treble vpon theſe Achitophelles. And the good innocẽt Lady, who hath bene ſo wretchedly and ſo vnworthely by them abuſed and circumuented, is more to be pitied, then to be blamed. The Earle Bothwel was acquited by his Peeres, according to the common and ordinarie trade and maner, in ſuche caſes vſually obſerued. Theſe vnnatural and diſloyal ſubiects, theſe moſt ſhameful, craftie colluders, her Aduerſaries and accuſers, I meane, the Earle Mortõ, the Lord Simple, the Lord Lindzay with their adherents and affinitie, eſpecially procured, and with al diligence laboured his purgation and acquital: which was afterward

ward confirmed by the three Estates by Acte of Parlament.

These, these, I say, whereof some are now the vehement and hotte fault finders, and most earnest reprouers and blamers of the said pretended Mariage, were then the principal inuenters, practisers, persuaders and compassers of the same. They procured a great part of the Nobilitie to solicite the Queene, to couple her selfe in mariage with the said Earle, as with a man most fitte, apt and mete for her present estate and case.

The consideration mouing, or rather forcing the Queene to this pretensed mariage.

First, alleaging the dangerous worlde, and oft inculcating into her minde and remembrance the present perilous time and dealinges of menne: whiche the better to preuent, and more surely to withstande, by their counsel and persuadings induced her, and by other their crafty doinges as it were enforced and constrained her, to take a husband, to be her comforter, her assister, her buckler and her shilde, to defend her against al her whatsoeuer Aduersaries.

If she would be contented so to doe, they promised him seruice, and to the Queene loyal obedience. Yea, many of them bound them selues to the said Earle by their owne

hande writing, to assist, mainteine and defende him against al men that would then after challenge or pursue him, as guiltie of the said crime. The which their doings the Queene considering, and fearing dangers imminent, and withal calling to mind the sundry and diuers vprours and seditiõs already made against her, the wretched and most cruel murther of her Secretarie in her own presence, the late stráge and miserable murther of her husbád, the distresse, the discomforte and desolation, wherein she was presently bewrapped, the Earles actiuitie in Martial feates, and the good and faithful seruice done by him to her mother and to her self, fearing some new and fresh sturre and calamitie, if she should refuse her Nobilities requeste (though very circũspect and naturally prudent in al her other doinges) yet neuertheless a woman, and especially neuer to that houre ones admonished, either opẽly or priuately after the Earles acquital, that he was guiltie of the said fact, nor suspecting any thing therof, yelded to that, to the whiche these craftie colluding, seditious heads, and the necessitie of the time, as then to her seemed, did in a maner enforce her.

Let them now lay on lode, let them now rage and raue against this acquital and mariage, let them lie to their owne shame vpō their owne deuises and doinges, thereby to defame their Queene. Let them lie, that the Erle of Huntley was restored to his fathers patrimonie, to procure his sisters consent to the diuorse betwene th'Erle and her: which restitution was made, not for that cōsideratiō, but bycause the Queene thought in her cōscience, his father wrongfully cōdemned.

Let them crie out vpō th'Earle Bothwel, for that the sentēce of diuorse was promulged, partly by force, partly without the iust and vsual order of the law, and without sufficiēt prouss. Let them cry out vpō him, for his violēt taking and deteining the Queene. Yet if they cā not precisely proue the Quenes consent to any of his vnlawful actes, as hitherto they were neuer able to do: then can they not get or gather any iust occasion (which is the thing they only seeke for) to suspect the Queene of this greuous acte. On th'other side, it is wel knowē, and easy to be proued, that this faction did chiefly procure (as we haue said) aswel the acquital, as the supposed mariage: and therfore by likelihod

was priuie of all other consequent deuises and practises. Wherefore they do nothing but blow out and blase to the worlde, with their owne foule, filthy mouthes, their own shame: and doe fare like a man, that doth thrust a sworde through both his owne sides to pricke a litle and raise but the outward skinne only of his enemie.

Ye may now wel perceaue, gētle Reader, that hitherto they haue produced litle matter of credit against their Quene: and yet, as it appeareth, very good matter against them selues, and for their owne discredit. Nowe may ye therefore easely coniecture, and by these their chiefe and principal matters and groundes easely perceaue, what accompt is to be made of al the residue of their lewde slanders, and what smal force and strength al their whole sayinges do beare. They see it, they see it wel inough themselues, good Reader: whereby they wel perceaue and fully vnderstand, that they altogether are vnable, to beare out and mainteine by reason, iustice or law these their outragious and seditious procedinges. And therefore they set vpon them the best colour and countenance they can. Wherein you shal nowe heare, what

they

they did alleage, being in England, for them ſelues.

They ſay, that no man can charge them, or the reſidue of their Nobilitie, that they haue gone as much as one onely ſtep from the office and dutie of good ſubiectes, in taking armes againſt the outragious enormities already committed, and to preuent the great dāgers imminēt to the perſons of their Queene, and her dere ſonne, to their Nobilitie, and to the whole ſtate of their weale publike. And that it was no ſmal harts griefe to them, to heare, what vilanie al Nations thought, and openly ſpake of them, for ſuffering ſuch a Tragical matter to ſcape vnpuniſhed: which thing ingendreth of vs (ſay they) among ſtrangers and al forain Nations an ill and ſiniſter opinion of ſome common conſent thereto made by our whole Nobilitie. Yea, to ſee alſo the very Executour thereof him ſelfe by violent force, to take, deteine and kepe his and their Souereigne, and with mariyng with her to diſteine her honour.

The Aduerſaries declaratiō before the Commiſſioners of England.

Wherfore to ſet her Maieſtie at freedom out of his bondage, to preſerue her honour and the perſonne of her ſonne, and by due

punishment of suche a malefactour, to recouer their good name and estimation with the rest and quietnes of their Cõtrey: when they had but in vaine attempted aswel al other meanes, as by the offring to the Earle singuler battail, they were driuen to gather force to resist them, who came to the fielde against them with a strong army. But he refusing either to wage singuler battail, which was then offered to him, or to ioyne in battail with their cãpe, escaped by flight. The Queene in the meanewhile rendred herself into the Nobilities hands there assembled, and by them was conueied to Edẽborough: but afterward they were of very necessitie compelled, to sequester her, vntil such time, as some remedie might be found for these maters, into Lochleuẽ. Wher she hauig now aduised with her self, and fully perceued her owne disabilitie, to susteine the weight of so great a roome, frely and volũtarily (by their saying) gaue ouer the Croune to her sonne, appointing the Earle Murray, being at that time out of the Realme, to be Regẽt therof, during her sonnes minoritie. Th'Earle Bothwel not long after being by them pursued, fled the Realme to escape their handes.

Now

Now this ſaid reſignation by the Queene ones made to her ſonne, he was forthwith by them ſolemnly crouned, and he as King, the Earle Murray as Regent, obeyd, and the ſtate of both theſe Regimẽts was by Acte of Parlamẽt eſtabliſhed. Whervpõ quietnes began to encreaſe, and iuſtice more and more daily to take place: which yet ſome perſons (ſai thei) much enuiyng at, to the diſturbãce of the ſame and of the kings authoritie: firſt practiſed, contrary to the ſaid their Acte of Parlament, the Queenes deliuerance out of Lochleuen, and then ſhewed them ſelues in armes. But as their attẽpt (ſay they) was vnlauful, ſo the victory fel againſt them on our the righteous ſide. Whereby God him ſelf ſemeth to haue geuẽ ſentẽce for the equitie of our whole cauſe againſt our Aduerſaries.

Theſe are the principal allegations that theſe good men haue propoſed for the iuſtification of their proceedinges againſt the Quene, before the Cõmiſsioners of Englãd. Finally, they ſay, that the moſte parte of them ſelues are for particuler benefits priuately ſo muche beholding to their ſaid Quene, that a number of them could be cõtẽted and wel willing, if they might preſerue

Scotland in the ſtate of a Kingdome, preſeruing alſo the profeſsiō of true religion, with the Kinges perſon, and the whole ſtate frō danger, to liue willingly in perpetual exile and banniſhment.

God be thanked, that after theſe ſeditious and trayterous ſubiectes haue bene ſo ſtout and ſtorming in the rekoning vp and accumulating of faults and offenſes of their innocēt Maiſtreſſe and Quene, they are yet at the lēgth forced to anſwere for thēſelues, and for their exceſsiue outragious rebellious dooings. Their glorious and glittering excuſes may perhaps at the firſt ſhew ſeme, to ſome of the Readers to haue a ioly face of much probabilitie, great trueth and feruent zeale to the weale publike. But may it pleaſe them, aduiſedly and depely to ponder and weigh, aſwel what we haue ſaid, as what we farther ſhal ſay in ſupplement of ful anſwere, and then to iudge and deme of the mater none otherwiſe, then reaſon, equitie and law do craue: they ſhal at length fynde out, and throughly perceaue and know theſe mennes dealinges and doinges, who as yet couer their foule filthy lying, deteſtable practiſes and trayterouſe enor-

mities with ſuche a viſarde of counterfeit ſained holines, and ſuche exceding greate ſhew of zeale to the Queenes honour, in puniſhing malefactors, and to the preſeruation of the ſtate of the Realme: as though al the worlde would fal and go to ruine, if it were not vpholden and vnderpropped by the ſtrength of their ſhoulders. They ſhal ſee, how they wil appeare in their owne natural likenes, ſo ougly, that al good harts wil vtterly deteſt them, and thinke them moſte worthie for example ſake to al the worlde hereafter of extreme puniſhment.

We affirme then firſt, that as they haue produced nothing in the worlde, touching the principal points: as of the Lorde Darleyes death, the acquital of the Earle Bothwel, and the Queenes mariage with him, iuſtly to charge her withal: ſo are they them ſelues, aſwel for the ſaid acquital and mariage, as for their damnable and rebellious attempts againſt their Souereigne, and for many other enormous crimes, ſo farre and ſo depely charged, ſo foule ſtained, and ſo ſhamefully marked and noted: that neuer ſhal they with al their hypocritical fine fetches be able, to rubbe out the dirty blottes

thereof from their skirts. which thing wilbe easely perceaued of them, that wil vouchesafe aduisedly to consider the friuolous and contradictorie excuses, they make in their defence.

The causes that the Rebelles pretended at the beginning.

At the beginning, their open surmised quarel, whereby they went about to drawe the peoples hartes to them selues, and to strēgthen their owne faction, stood in three points, as appeareth by their excuses, and by their pretensed Proclamations.

The first was, to deliuer the Quene from the Earle Bothwel, who violently deteined her, and to preuent daungers imminent to her person.

The second, to reuenge the Kings death vpon the said Bothwel, whom they knew (as they pretended) to haue ben the principal doer in the execution of the said murther.

The thirde was, to preserue the yonge Prince, the Queenes sonne. This is their ioly and holy pretense.

Answere to the first:

Nowe let vs see, how conformable their worthy procedinges are to these their colourable cloked holy collusions.

The first gentle and humble admonition, that these good louing subiectes gaue her, to re-

refourme theſe ſurmiſed enormities, was in battail array at Bortwike Caſtle, which they thought vpon the ſodaine to haue poſſeſſed with the Queenes perſon. Wherevpon they being diſapointed therof, gat into the Town and Fortreſſe of Edenboroug, by the treaſon of Balfoure the Captaine thereof, and of Cragmiler the Prouoſt of the Citie: whereby they being the more animated, to follow and proſecute their wicked enterpriſe, begā now to be ſtrong in the field. The Queene hauing alſo a good ſtrōg army, and thinking her ſelf wel able therby to encounter with th'enemie, and to repreſſe their furious outrage: yet notwithſtāding, for the great loue and pitie ſhe had to them (though rebellious ſubiects) willing as muche as in her lay, to kepe and preſerue their blood from ſheding offred them faire of her owne free motion, that if they would vſe her as their Queene, ſhe would peaceably come to them, and take due and conuenient order for the redreſſe of al ſuche thinges, as might appeare by law and reaſon mete to be refourmed.

The Lord Grange promiſed vpō his knees obedience in al the Rebelles names.

Wherevpon the Lorde Grange was ſent by the Lordes to her, who in al their names moſte humbly vppon his knees aſſured

her

her of al dewe obedience, of ſecuritie an
ſafetie of both her life and honour. And
the good Ladie, her conſcience bearing he
witnes of al her iuſt and vpright dealinge
and therfore nothing miſtruſting, diſmiſsin
her army, yelded her ſelf to the Lordes: wh
conueyed her to Edenborough, and ther
ſet her at ſuche a meruelous libertie, and
ſuche ſecuritie and ſafetie, that al good me
to the worlds ende wil wonder at their ex
ceding good loyaltie.

Firſt they keping her owne Palaice, ſe
and placed her in a merchants houſe, and
vſed her otherwiſe very homely. She now
conſidering and perceauing, to what ende
theſe matters tended, moſt pitifully cried
and called vpon them, to remember their
late promiſſe: or at the leaſt, that ſhe might
be brought before the Counſaile, offering to
ſtande to the order and direction of the
States of the realme. But, God knoweth, al
in vaine. For now had they the pray, where-
on they intēded to whet their bluddy teeth,
ere they did diſmiſſe or forgoe her, as the
euent doth declare. Wherefore in the night
priuily ſhe was conueyed, and with haſte in
diſguiſed apparel, to the ſtrong Forte of

Loch-

Lochleuen, and after a few daies being stripped out and spoyled of al her princely attirement, was clothed with a course broune cassoke. The Q. imprisoned at Lochleue.

After this these good loial subiects, praising and encreasing more and more daily the performance of their saied promised obedience, neuer ceassed, vntil they had vsurped the ful authoritie and Regiment of the whole. Into the which though they had intruded themselues, yet seing, as blinde as they were, by disordinate, vnseemely and vnmeasurable ambition, that the Queene remained and was stil Queene, and that there was no iust cause, by the ordinarie course of the lawe, or for any her demerits and deserts to bring her forth to her trial, that she might be conuicted and deposed: went like good honest plaine men and wel meaning subiects, bluntly to worke, and cōsulted and determined, to dispatche and rid her out of her life: vnlesse she would yelde to them, and subscribe suche writinges, as they would send to her, concerning the dimission of her Croune to her sonne, and the Regiment of the Realme to the Earle of Murray.

Where-

Wherevpon th'Earle of Athele, Secretarie Ledington with other principals of their factious band, sent Robert Miluen to Lochleuen, to wil her in any case, if she sought the safegard of her life, to cõdescend to such demaundes, and set her hand to al such writinges, as should be proposed and brought to her. Whiche (as they said) to doe, neuer could be preiudicial to her, being by force and violence extorted. Sir Nicolas Throgmorton also, being then Ambassadour there from England, gaue her the like aduise.

The Q. thretned to be rid avvay, if she vvould not renoũce her Croune.

Now at the last cometh the Lorde Lindzay, sent in Commissiõ from their Coũsaile to present and offer vnto her the writinges, who most greuously with feareful wordes and very cruel and sterne coũtenance threatned her, that vnlesse she would therto subscribe, she should lose her life.

But cal you this voluntarie yelding ouer and Resignation of the Croune? A voluntary assignation of the regiment to you, Earle Murray? yea surely, as free and voluntary, as a man with his owne hands casteth into the sea his goods in a maine and raging tempest freely and voluntarily: sauing that peraduẽture ye may replie and say, that there is so much

much wil in him, that he had rather bide the aduenture of his goodes and riches, then of his life, being contented to redeeme the safegard of his life, with the losse of his goodes.

And yet as voluntary as ye make it, free and voluntary ye shal no more make it, then ye shalbe able to prooue, that the peoples good wil was alienated from her, as ye surmise. For the procuring whereof, ye haue by your craftie slaunderous leasinges and wretched practises done all the endeuour, that your malitious and spitefull braines could inuent and serch out. But surely your dooinges haue bene so gratious, that if she had bene deadly hated before, they might haue procured and gotten her a wonderful loue and fauour of the people againe. And whereas she was (euen as she wel deserued) most entierly and tenderly beloued before: now ye haue by these your so Tragical and Tyrānical procedings purchased to her such an augmentation and encrease of the same (specially whē that the people, amōg whom for a while some ye haue through your colorable craftie conueiances made to misdeme and haue somwhat the worse liking of her,

her, ſhal throughly and perfectly vnderſtand and knowe your ſaid wily policies, as more and more daily they doe) that ſhe ſhalbe much beholding to you: but no God haue mercy to you therefore.

But nowto procede and go forward with your louing loyal procedings towarde her, ye neuer ceaſſed nor ſtaied, vntil ye had procured and obteined a coulorable Parlament whereby ye gotte your vſurped and vnnatural kingdome ratified and confirmed: and not onely al your wicked practiſes alreadi paſt, but euen what miſchiefe ſoeuer ye wold, ſhould afterward paſſe alſo, againſt her quietnes and ſafetie. And thus behold, how theſe humble, obedient and louing ſubiectes haue purchaſed and procured a Commiſsion long before hande: the like whereof (as I ſuppoſe) was neuer in the world heard of afore, in any whatſoeuer rude, ſauage and barbarous Nation or Countrey, to ſlay, kill and murther their owne Souereigne Queene and a moſt innocent Ladie, at their owne willes and pleaſure. The which their ſaied Commiſsion they had in this wiſe executed long ere this as it is credibly thought: if God had not wonderfully eluded, and miracu-

louſly

lously frustrated this their mischeiuous malitious purpose and intent.

And yet is there one iniurie more, that doth greeue and molest this good guiltlesse Ladie more, then al these foretold villanous práks plaied of them against her. And surely not without iust cause of griefe. For in dede it farre passeth and excedeth them al. And that is, their shameful and most traiterous diffaming her, being altogether innocent therein, with the death of her husbande: as though that she had suborned the Earle Bothwel therto, and rewarded him therfore with the mariage of her owne body.

Here perchance they will say: Mary this is our chief quarel in dede, this was the marke, we principally shotte at. The great loue and zeale we beare to Iustice, and the earnest desire we haue to purge and rid the Realme of the slander and infamie, that ariseth therto by this horrible facte, moueth and stirreth vs vp, to seke by al meanes we can, the punishing of the said Earle, who was the cõmitter and chief perpetrator thereof.

The answere to the secõd.

If it so be, surely there is vppon the sodaine commen vpon you a meruelous deuotion. For why? Were not ye, and your

band and Adherēts the chief and principall authours, assisters, fautours, aiders and abetters, for the clearing and iustifiyng of the said Bothwel accused and indited as gilty of the said murther? what is it, that maketh you now so hot, that then were so cold? By like the world and wether is anew changed and altered of late. Yet tel vs, we pray you in good earnest: was your principal scope and zeale, to apprehend th'Erle Bothwel? Tel vs then a good cause, why ye did dismisse him, when you might haue had him at your pleasure? Did not the forsaid Grange, comming to the Queene from you, speake to him also? Did he not take him by the hand, and wil him to depart, assuring and telling him, that no man should folow or pursue him? Did not th'Erle remaine in the Countrey at hand many monethes after, vntil the returning home of the Earle Murray? And then for a face and coũtenance, ther were made out to the seas certaine ships to apprehend him: it being of you pretended, that he was now become an arrant Pirate and Rouer vpon the sea.

The Quenes enemies dimissed the Earle Bothvvel, vvhē thei might haue takē him.

Nay, nay: it was not he, you so long sought after. It was an other bird, and her ye had fast in the cage: and therefore ye permitted

the Earle to flee whether he would. But yet you lay in your Accusation put vp to the Commissioners of England, that as he was the chief executor of the said Lord Darleys death: so she was of the foreknowledge and counsel, yea and the mainteiner therof also. And therefore she both stopped the inquisition of the facte and punishment of him, and also matched her selfe in mariage with him.

I aske then, as before, of you: why through the special sute and procurement of your faction he was acquited and set on cleare bord? Why did you with a great number of the Nobilitie moue further, and worke the said mariage, as most metee and necessary for your Quene? Why did you, as by your hand writing it wil appeare, proffer and promisse to him your faithful seruice, and to her your loyal obeisance? Why did none of all your factiō, nor any other els, either openly, or priuately declare and detect this matter to your Queene, before the pretended mariage? Was there no time, occasion and opportunitie, to geue her warning thereof, but by the terrible and feareful blast and soūd of the Martial trumpet? For she good innocent Ladie, hath vpō her honour protested,

The Quenes enemies boūd by their hand vvriting, to obey the Erle Bothvvel, if he maried the Q.

and plainly declared (the which her protestatiō also, the disorderly, ambitious and Tragical doinges of these rebellious and traiterous subiects do much helpe and confirme) that afore her taking and inprisonmēt, she neuer knew, who were either principal, or accessarie, or by any meanes culpable and blame worthy, concerning the said murther.

An answere to the third.

Touching the third point, it is not worthy the cōfuting. For these men knew right wel, that the Queene had put her sonne safe and sure inough in the guarde and custodie of the Earle of Murray. But see, I pray you, the impudencie of these men, and consider, how much it is to be mused and merueled at, who are not ashamed to publish by open Edictes and Proclamatiōs, that the Prince should be in more securitie and safegarde vnder the protection and keeping of the Regent and vsurping Rebelles, then vnder the hādes and bringing vppe of his owne most natural and deare mother, with diuers other like vnnatural, ridiculous and absurd propositions.

God blesse him, and graunt him no worse to speede, then this most tender and louing mother daily wisheth and cōtinually praieth for. Who, good swete babe, if he had age

and discretion, to vnderstand their dooings, would geue the Earle Murray and his fellowes but colde thankes for the intruding of him, against his good mother, vnto the Croune and gouernment of the realme: but would and might wel say, that this was but a colour, vnder his shadow to strengthen him (the said Earle) against his good mother, and perchance against his owne selfe to.

The Prīce. if he vvere at age, vvold not like the enemies doinges against his mother.

His owne vnnatural Coronation also (though these men much bragge it solemnly and orderly to haue proceded) he would as much mislike. Neither would he buye it so deare, nor come foorth to be a King so vnnaturally, as the Vipers enter into the world eating and gnawing out the mothers wōbe. He would demaūd and aske, what a strāge newe found solennitie, and fond manner of Coronation this was? For the matter being of so great and weighty importance: of one hundred, Earles, Bisshoppes, and Lordes, and moe, that haue voice in Perlament, wherof al, or the more parte of them should haue an agreement, liking and consent, as to al other, so to these publike doinges also: there were no more present, but fower Earles onely, wherof the most honourable had not the se-

He vvas vnlavvfully crouned

tenth or eigth voice in the Parlamẽt among the Earles, nor yet the first of twenty voices among al the States.

Ye had farther but six Lordes, who also were such, as had laied their violent handes vpon their Quene afore, and put her in prison. And least al should be voide, if they should seme to lacke their ful Congregatiõ of the Spiritualitie and Temporaltie: in leapeth me one Bishop, and two or three Abbats and Priors. But yet were ther not solẽne Protestations, I pray you, then openly made and authentical Instrumentes thereof made also, that whatsoeuer was that day done, either for the Coronation, or inuesting of the King, or for the establishing of a Regent, or otherwise against the Queenes Royall estate and personne: it should not be to her in any point hurtful or preiudicial, as being then violently deteined and imprisoned?

Why the confirmation of the Rebelles doinges made by an acte of Parlament is nothing worth.

Wel, you wil alleage peraduenture, that al these procedinges were ratified and confirmed by acte of Parlament. Yet al this not withstanding, this Noble Impe (if he were at ripe yeares) would, no doubt, acknowledge and allowe no suche disordered Parlament: but would enquire of you, what autho-

authoritie you had, to cal and sommon the said Parlament? He would say, that the ratifiyng of the said dimission of the Crouno by his mother, is not allowable, or to be approued.

First, bycause she was then in prison, and not at her owne libertie. Next, bycause it was done by violence, and forced with feare of life, and so whatsoeuer was builded vpon this foundation, being of such weakenes and so vnstable, could neuer be firmly and surely established and corroborated. He would farther say, that diuerse of the chiefe and most principal among the Nobilitie, namely the Earles of Argile and Huntley with the Lorde Harris, would not in any wise accorde or agree thereto, otherwise then it should stand with the Queenes voluntarie wil, voide and free from al manner threatninges, force and violence. Whereof they did ful earnestly and solemnly protest, requiring their Protestations to be enacted and recorded.

He would moreouer say, that he could in no wise wel like of that Parlament, that should so dishonour his owne good mother and make her to be an infamous Princesse,

hauing none other ground and prouſe to leade them to do ſo, but only a few vncertaine gheſſes, and vnknowē obſcure letters. He would, no doubt, for al theſe mennes vayne boſting and bragging of Iuſtice and quietnes, moſt tēderly lamēt and wofully bewaile the miſerable and pitiful caſe and dolorouſe ſtate of that ſely poore ragged and rent Realme, the wretched and infinite robberies and ſpoiles committed and done vpō the true loial ſubiects thereof, being daily moſt greeuouſly oppreſſed, and ſhamefully murthered, and the whole Realme ſo meruelouſly maymed, that the very outward enemie doth ſore lament to ſee it or heare thereof, and that wilbe wondered at of all the poſteritie, ſo long as the world doth ſtand. He would yet ſay, that in caſe there had bene no iniurie offered, either to his mother, or to any other: he would not ſuch miſerie ſhould through him, or vnder his name be cauſed or occaſioned, though he might purchaſe thereby the greateſt Empire in the world.

Thus may euery man ſee and perceaue, how diſhonourable and how diſloyal your actes and doinges haue bene, and alſo how

disagreable to your sayings, protestations and pretenses. For ye pretended at your first seditious motion (as we haue declared) the Queenes libertie and honour, and, that ye would duely and faithfully serue her: which your seruice what it was, let your doings declare.

Ye make pretense, that ye toke armes chiefly for the apprehension of the Earle Bothwel: and yet ye dismissed and let him go being present, and neuer (but long after, and coulorably) sought him.

Ye pretended the quietnes and peaceable gouernement of the Realme. But the Realme was neuer these many hundred yeares so disquieted and turmoyled with so sore stormes and blustering tempests.

Ye pretended at your first inueiyng and conference against your said Maistresse before the Commissioners of England, that she finding her selfe vnable and vnmete to rule and gouerne her Realm and subiects, voluntarily yelded vp and surrēdred the Croune. But the contrary is most apparētly knowen: yea, you your selues about two monethes after, quite forgetting your first allegations, say, that the States of the Realme of Scotland

The incōstancy of the Queenes enemies, first pretēding before the Counsaile of Englād her volun-

tary dimission of the Croune, and afterwvard that she vvas deposed.

lād depriued and deposed her. At what time ye also made solemne hypocritical and cloked protestations, how loth you were, to publish and detect any matter to her dishonour. Wherto might be replied against you aswel the rule of the law, that *Protestatio cōtraria facto, non releuat*, as also the old prouerb, *Crocodili Lachrymæ*, the false traiterous teares of the hypocritical Crocodile.

Fie therefore, and out vpon these your Crocodile teares, whereby you would perswade and make the world beleue, that you wold redeme and saue her honor with your perpetual bannishment. And as for the religion ye speake of, it were much to be merueled and sore to be pitied, if it could not be mainteined and borne out; without suche foule, dishoneſt and outragious meanes and shifts. But al this your great feare, least that Scotlād otherwise shuld not be able to haue and beare the coūtenance and maintenance of a Kingdom, is mere vaine and altogether nedeleſſe. For why should you thus feare, hauing such a noble Queene, lineally descending frō the Roial race of the noble Kinges of Scotlād, and inheriting the Croune therof of right: she hauing bisides (God be thāked

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herfore) ſo goodly a noble Impe, when the time and law calleth him therto, to ſuccede his mother, vnleſſe that you be M. Knoxes owne good ſcholers, and ſuch of his affinitie, that haue ſet vp and erected a ioly new ſchole (as we haue declared) teaching, that it is not lauful for a woman Prince, to haue Ciuil Gouernment.

A ſtrange doctrine of Maiſter knoxe againſt vvomans Gouernment.

Theſe and many the like thinges would this good and gratious Impe, reaſonably and like a good natural louing childe, tel and reproue you of, if he were of diſcretiō and intelligēce, to weigh and cōſider your ſtrange procedings and diuelliſh dealinges againſt his moſt deare and tender mother. Yea, he would tel you, that his mothers ineſtimable and vnmeaſurable benefits were wel and worthely employed and beſtowed vppon ſuche a wicked and vngrate generation.

He would alſo ſay and tel you, that you ſhould purchaſe your ſelues ſmal renoune and litle reward of God or of the world, for this your falſe fained patiēce, in hearīg your ſelues called (and that ful worthely) traitors and Rebelles. No more ſurely, then if ye had hard, as now ye muſt (for this dainty diſh we haue reſerued for you to the laſt courſe) and ſo

and so proued withal the deuisers and procurers of the shameful, vile, vilanous murther of the noble yonge Lorde, the Lorde Darley, your owne Mastresse and Queenes most dere husband. Whose tender hart neuer any worldily thing so nigh and so depely pearced, as did this mischieuous note.

The Quenes enemies fondly triumph of their victory against her true subiectes.

Ye triumph and vaunt of your glorious victorie, and of the vnmerciful slaughter, that you haue made vpon the Queenes most louing, loyal and faithful subiects. Ye valew, measure and rule thereby the goodnes and equitie of your quarel and cause. But this rule doth not alwaies holde as neuer hauing exception and instance.

The Israelites quarel against the Tribe of Beniamin, rising vppon a trueth and horrible facte perpetrated, and commited by the Gabaonits, whome the Beniamits did defende, and not vpon false fayned doinges and outragious ambition, as yours doth against your Souereigne, was a thousand times better and more iust, then is this your pretensed quarel and seditious vprore. And yet the Beniamits gaue them a sore greeuous and pitiful ouerthrow.

And surely it were no il counsayle for you,

ou, to remember withal the olde saying, *espice finem*: take good hede, what may fal ut at the ende. Ye do litle weigh and con-der the greate prouidence of almighty God in this facte, whereby he seemeth to aue prouided suche an indifferent way nd so free from al siniſter suſpition, for the rouf and iuſtification of the Queenes in-ocencie and integritie, and for the mainte-ance and preſeruation of her name and onour (the which ſhe eſtemeth and pre-erreth afore al earthly thinges) and for your tter confuſion and ſhame, the like wherof ould not by man be found.

What ſhal I then ſay to you? How ſhal I beginne, or wherein to accuſe you? Surely I may wel cry out: O heauē, ô earth, ô God, ô man. Hearken, hearkē to ſuch a heighnous diueliſh deuice and drift, as doubtleſſe nei-ther Tragedy, nor any record of Antiquitie can lightly report a more heinous. Hearkē, I ſay, to this deteſtable and abhominable facte. Hearken of ſubiectes that haue con-ſented vnto, and cauſed their owne Princes Huſband to be ſlaine: and not contented to enioye their owne impunitie of ſo horrible and greeuouſe a crime, haue ſought and in-

uen-

uēted meanes and waies, willingly and wi
tingly to haue ſlandered therewithal the
moſt innocent Maiſtreſſe and Souereign
and haue moſt wrongfully and ful iniurious
ly caſt her in priſon, and ſpoiled her of a
her Princely eſtate, being in a readineſe eue
ry howre to haue bereaued her of her li
and al: and as they haue of them ſelues re
ported, haue bene of nothing more reper
tant and ſorie, then that they haue not full
executed their purpoſed miſchiefe.

We ſay then no leſſe boldly, then truely
Firſt, that the Queene for this facte is far fr
al fault. We ſay next, that ye Murray, an
your companions are the very deuiſers an
cōtriuers of the murther of this noble gētle
man, your ſelues. But to diſcloſe and ope
theſe matters at the ful, it requireth a ver
large ſcope and diſcourſe. Yet wil we, a
briefly, as the cauſe wil ſuffer, proſecute the
ſame. For the firſt part, that may ſuffice,
that we haue already declared, and ſhal here
after declare for her innocencie.

Now before we procede to the ſeconde,
for the more euident and open condēnation
of theſe men, let vs imagine that to be done,
that neuer was thought of her parte to be

done.

one. Let vs imagine and ſuppoſe, that the Quene was therin guilty, as theſe men moſt falſely and ſlanderouſly report: yet are all theſe their procedings of no validitie or force, and ſhe remaineth ſtil their Queene, and in her ful authoritie, by good reaſon and lawe. The zeale to punniſh greate crimes is cõmendable, ſo it be meaſured by order and lawe. For as Ariſtotle ſaith: It is not inough to do καλὸν, a good dede: vnleſſe it be καλῶς, wel done alſo. The one whereof reſpecteth the fact, the other the forme, manner and fashion, the qualitie, meanes and order of the doing thereof: *Quia forma dat eſſe rei*. This forme and faſſhiõ of wel doing hath not ben obſerued in your procedings. For it can not be wel done, that is vnlawfully, and diſorderly done. If it had ben but a pore priuate mans cauſe, for the lacke of dew and conuenient forme in the treating and handling thereof, the whole procedinges had ben of none effecte or purpoſe. The lawes of wel ordered cõmon wealthes, eſpecially the Ciuil lawe, the Principal and Maſtreſſe of all other Ciuil policies and ordinances, do require in al iudgements to be geuẽ againſt the defendãt, three ſeueral and diſtinct perſons:

In caſe the Queene vvere culpable, yet are her enemies procedigs vnlavvful.

It is not inough to do a good thing, vnleſſe it be vvel done.

The lavv geueth exceptions to the Defendant, againſt the Iudges the Accuſers and vvitneſſes.

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the Iudge, the Accuſer and the witneſſe
The defendant hath the benefit of iuſt an
lawful exceptions, aſwel againſt the Iudg
as againſt the Accuſers and witneſſes. Ech
of whom may be reiected for open enimi
toward the Defendant, and for diuers othe
cauſes. Accuſers may be repulſed, ſome fo
that they haue receaued a ſinguler benef
of the partie defendant, as a bondeman m
numitted and made free, in caſe he wil ac
cuſe his patrone and manumiſſer: or if a ma
wil accuſe his educatour and bringer vpp
Some for nearnes in blood and conſangui
nitie, as the brother. Some for naught
and infamous behauiour, and ſome for othe
reſpectes.

C. Qui accuſat, non po. L. Iniquum & l. fin. L. qui accuſat. ff. de accuſa.

Shal theſe vngrateful Traitours then, tha
iuſtly neither can be Iudge, nor accuſer, no
aſmuche as witneſſe againſt their Soue
reigne (and to them a moſt gratious Quene
by any reaſon or lawe, play them ſelues a
the three parts in the Tragedie? For the
haue in al theſe their worſlipful procedinge
againſt her, made ſuche a hotchepoche
ſuche a minglemangle, ſuche a confuſe an
diſordered Chaos againſt Iuſtice and Na
ture: that they them ſelues were the Accu

ſers,

sers, they them selues the witnesses, they them selues the Iudges and examiners of her cause.

Is there any honest meaning and gentle natured harte, that can once patiently abide and suffer to heare these their taunting and intolerable outragious inueyings and accusations, especially of the Earles Murray and Murtō, the Capiteines, ringleaders and chief practitioners thereof against her, to whome they are most depely bound, aswel for high preferment vndeserued, as for diuers pardons of death, by manifolde treasons worthely deserued? To whom the one of them is by nature and blood (albe it base) as a brother entierly conioyned. And to whome they both ought to be with the rest, as to their liege Ladie most loially subiected. Shal they now with the Lord Lindzay be admitted, to staine and defile her honour, to seeke her harts blood, who long sithens had worthely lost ther ingrate chorlishe traiterouse blood, if they had not ben preserued by her singuler and incredible clemencie?

Yet let vs cōsider their precise and most holy forme of Iudgement. The Queene was disorderly and rebelliously apprehēded, she

was caſt in priſon, not once heard to anſwer for her ſelfe, moſt inſtantly and pitifully crauing audience. She was forced and conſtrained by moſt vehement and iuſt feare to geue ouer her Croune, and dimiſſe the regiment to the Earle Murray. One great argument of the ſaid conſtraint and compulſion among other is, that ſhe neuer readde ſuch writinges, as were offered to her, to be by her ſubſcribed, nor entred into any couenant or talke for the maintenance of her liuing or ſafegard of her life. Which thing ſhe would neuer by any indifferent mans iudgement haue done, if ſhe had freely and voluntarily yelded vp her Regal Dignity. Neither can the pretenſed Parlamēt be preiudicial to her, ſtanding vpō no better nor ſurer groūd, then vpon ſuch as we haue rehearſed, and vpon ſuch worſhipful letters miſsiue, as are by them, I can not tel more falſly, or more fondly counterfeited. Surely ſuch Traitours, as durſt laye violent handes vppon their Queene, and intrude them ſelues into the Regal Gouernement, will make but ſmal curteſie in the faining and forging a letter, thereby to worke their purpoſed miſchiefe.

A good argument that the Queene by cōpulſion dimiſſed the Croune.

I would

I would then father demaund of them what authoritie they had, to somon and assemble a Parlament? And whether this fact of hers, suppoſing ſhe were therein guilty, deſerueth in her, being a Prince, and conſidering how heinouſly the Lorde Darley had offended her and the Croune of Scotland, ſuch extreme puniſhment to be leuied vpon her for one ſimple murther: eſpecially by them, that committed that ſhameful murther vpon her Secretarie, that haue committed ſo many treaſons, and daily do committe ſo many horrible murthers vpō the Quenes true louing ſubiectes. How many and how cruel and terrible deathes do ſuch Traitours deſerue?

We haue moreouer to demaund of them whereas they pretende a merueilous and a ſinguler zeale to religiō and holy Scripture, and to meaſure al their doinges preciſely by Scripture and order thereof, what ſufficient warrant they haue therein, by their priuate authoritie to ſet violent handes vpon their annointed Prince? I find ther, that King Dauid was both an adultrer, and alſo a murtherer? I finde, that God was highly diſpleaſed with him therfore. Yet find I not, that he was

therefore by his ſubiectes depoſed. And here might I take occaſion out of the ſacred Scriptures, to declaime and diſcours againſt your diſordered doinges: but that it is nedeleſſe, and our matters otherwiſe growe long.

But yet conſider ye with your ſelfe, you the Earles Murray and Murton, with your conſociats, that euen adiudging the Queene were culpable and in ſome fault, as ſhe is not in this matter: whether it had not ben much better, and more auaileable to your commō wealth and to the ſtate thereof, prudently to haue diſſembled the matter (as your forefathers haue heretofore done in a greater cauſe then this, namely in Duke Robert the Gouernour, Kings Roberts brother) then to haue permitted your cōmon wealth to haue commen into ſo miſerable and wretched a ſtate, as it is now fallē in, and dayly like to be in worſe caſe and worſe. I ſuppoſe it wilbe found, that it had ben a much better policie to haue reſerued the puniſhment thereof to Gods owne rodde and iuſtice, in this, or in an other worlde: then to haue taken from him, that he hath reſerued to his owne only iudgemēt, and to haue geuen to the ſubiects

The Duke Robert of Scotland.

of other Princes ſuche a wicked preſident, that if theſe other ſubiectes treade faſt vpon your ſteppes, there wil ſhortly fewe Kinges and Princes haue any ſure and faſt holde of their Sceptre and Roial Dignitie.

We conclude then againſt you (ſpeake and doe the worſte by her that ye can inuent) that your proceedinges be not agreable or correſpondent to law, order and Iuſtice, and therfore to be reuoked and adnulled. We ſay, that the common rule of the lawe ought here to take place, *Spoliatus ante omnia reſtituendus eſt*: vnleſſe where all lawes, aſwel Gods, as mans lawe, doe fauour and preferre Princes cauſes with ſinguler priuileges and prerogatiues, ye haue now eſpied out a newe law, whereby Princes ſhal haue and enioye leſſe benefits and preeminences in their owne defence, then other priuate perſons.

We ſay, that for theſe and many other good and neceſſary conſiderations, all is voide that ye haue buſied your ſelues about. We ſay, that al your dooinges ought to be remoued, reuerſed and clearly annulled, and the Queene wrongfully by you diſplaced, to be reſtored to her ſtate and former digni-

tie and honour. Then let the whole matter be, if there be any iuſte cauſe, before competent and meete Iudges, to ſitte vpon a Prince, iuſtly and orderly heard and determined. For as for you, eſpecially the Earle Marray and Murton, ye are to be charged and chalenged, byſide al other iuſt exceptions, euen as the principal inuentours mainteiners and workers of this ſhamefull and cruel murther, for the whiche ye haue made al this hurly burly, and as I may ſay, ſtirred heauen and earth againſt your owne very natural Prince.

Neither may the Lord Lindzay be heard or ſuffred, to intermedle againſt her, if lawe take place, for diuers his demerites, among which he ſtandeth charged, aſwel for that, that he was one of the chiefe inſtrumentes in the ſlaughter of the Queenes Secretarie Dauid, as alſo in the apprehending and impriſoning of her Grace.

Regio

But I much muſe and merueyle, how the Biſſhoppe of Orkney for ſhame coulde ſo preſumptuouſly and heynouſly inueigh and declaime before the Commiſsioners of Englande againſt his Maiſtreſſe pretenſed mariage with the Earle Bothwell, ſeeinge

that

that he him ſelfe did celebrate the ſolemnitie thereof. Who alſo was your onely Biſſhop, that was preſent at the Coronation of your newe erected King. A man moſte apte and ready to ſerue all worldes and turnes.

Againſt you the Earle Murton, byſides the murther of the Queenes Secretarie and of the Lorde Darleye her huſbande, there are many iuſte exceptions and chalenges to be layed and taken, aſwell of other miſdooinges, as of manyfolde and apparent treaſons, whiche ye ſeeme to haue ſucked with your mothers milke: ye haue ben a Traitour ſo often times to your Prince and Souereigne.

Exceptiõs moſt iuſt againſt the Queenes accuſers, but eſpecially againſt the Earle of Murray.

But the Earle Murray it is, whom aboue all other, we haue to charge and burden. His baſe natiuitie, his baſer conditions, the notable ſaying of the foreſayd Caſsius, *Cui bono*, the trade of all his former life, will muche ſtayne and preſſe him: if wee doo well weygh and marke the weyghtie preſumptions, that be euident and playne againſt him. I will make my beginning with the greate and vnnaturall vnkindneſſe and ingratitude, by him ſhewed to his

deare Sister, and his louing and most bountiful Maistresse and Souereigne.

At what time she minded, after the death of her first husband the French Kinge to repaire into her owne Realme of Scotland, she sent forthwith for him into France, and vsed his aduise and counsel in al her affairs, euen as she did also after her returne into Scotlād, so farre, that she had but, as it were, the name and calling, he bearing the very sway of the Regiment by her intituled to, and honoured and adorned with the Earldome of Murray, and at length by one meanes or other furnished with so greate and ample possessions, that by sides other commodities and aduantages, the yearely rent thereof passeth and surmounteth the summe of twenty and six thousand poundes after the rate of their money.

The great benefits emploied by the Q. vpon the said Earle.

Behold now the thankfulnes of this good and grateful nature. He laboured and endeuoured al that he possibly could, to withholde the Queenes mind, and stay her from al manner of mariage, and to entaile the Croune of the Realm vnto himself, though he were illegitimate and vncapable therof) and to the name and the blood of the Stewards.

He vvent about, to entaile the Croune of the Realm to him self and the Stevvardes

ards. But when he saw and throughly perceaued, and wel knew, that the Queene was fully minded and earnestly bent, and had now determined to ioyne her self in marage with the Lorde Darley: he practised meanes by his assistance and procurements, to haue slayne him and his father, and to haue imprisoned her at Lochleuen, and to haue vsurped the gouernement himselfe, as he now doth.

His rebellō against the Queene

But now when he saw this his intent and purpose disclosed and preuented, and that the solemnization of the mariage was already past: he shewed himself with his adherents in open field, and in armes against the Queene his Maistresse. Whervpon he was driuen to flee into England. At which his there abode, he instantly solicited and besought for aide against his Souereigne, which was worthely denied him.

Then beganne he to practise with the Earle Morton by his letters and messengers about the detestable slaughter of Dauid the Queenes Secretarie, who by their mischieuous sleights and craftie persuasions, induced the Lorde Darley, promising him to remoue the Queene from the medling with al

politike

His cõſpiracy vvith them, that ſlevve the Secretarie Dauid.

politike affaires, and actually to put him in poſſeſsion of the Croune, and of the rule and gouernement of the Realme, to ioyne with them in this traiterous conſpiracie againſt the Queene his moſte deare and louing wife and moſte dreade Souereigne. Wherevpon the murther was in moſt horrible and traiterous wiſe committed in the Queenes owne chamber of Preſence, vpon him violently plucked from the Quene: ſhe alſo being cruelly manaced and ſore threatned, hauing alſo a charged piſtolet ſet to her belly, being then greate with childe, and then remoued from her priuie chamber into an other, where ſhe was kepte as priſoner.

A charged piſtilet ſet to the Queenes belly.

The yong vnexpert and raſh Lord Darley, who being blinded with outragious ambition, could not forſee the diueliſh drifte of theſe craftie merchants, beganne now, but almoſt to late, to eſpie it: and ſeeing him ſelfe as nigh the danger as was his wife the Queene, repaired to her, moſte humbly aſking her pardon of his heinous attempt, and pitifully crieng out to her to prouide and finde out ſome preſent way, to preſerue them ſelues both. Who by the Quenes po-

litike

like induſtrie was priuily with her ſelfe conueied away out of the Rebelles danger: and by him, this wicked drift, and the driuers and contriuers thereof were diſcouered to the Queene.

The Q. by her induſtrie cõueied her ſelfe avvay vvith the L. Darley.

But lo, the next day after this ſlaughter, the Earle Murray entred into Scotland, and repaired to the Queene with as faire a coũtenance, as though he had ben cleare, aſwel for that fact, as for al other treaſons. Wherof the gentle and merciful Queene pardoned him, admitting him againe into her Graces loue and fauor. Wherat the L. Darley much miſliking, and vehemently repining: feared, that he would be, as he was in dede, whẽ he ſaw his time, reuenged vpõ him, by cauſe he was of him detected to the Quene, for being one and the chiefe of the counſailers, aiders and aſsiſters in the conſpiracie about the murther of the Secretarie now committed.

The cauſe, vvhy the Earle Murray hated the Lorde Darley.

Theſe and the like imaginations ſo depely ſanke into and pearced the yong mans harte, that he finally reſolued with himſelf, by one meanes or other, to ridde the Earle Murray out of the way. Whereabout he went ſo farre forth, that he cõmunicated his purpoſe to the Quene, who did moſt highly miſlike there-

therewith, and moſt vehemently deterre him from the ſaid his intét. Yet did he brea the matter farther as to certain other nobl men, by whome at the laſt it was reueale to the Earle Murray. Wherfore the Earl did continually after beare him a deadl ennmitie and hatred. Wherevpon at lengt al other attempts failing him, this execrabl murther was by him the ſaid Earle Murray and by the Earle Murton firſt deuiſed, an afterward in ſuch ſtrange and heynous ſor as the worlde knoweth and deteſteth, mo horribly practiſed and put in execution.

What? peraduenture ſome man wil ſay of al the men in the worlde, the Earle Mur ray is fartheſt of from al manner of ſpot an ſiniſter ſuſpicion touching this matter. Fo he was not at the Court, when this murthe was committed: and when the Queene wa apprehẽded he was out of Scotlãd. and wh did driue out of Scotlãd the Earle Bothwel but the Earle Murray? Who is he, that hath taken ſo much paines and trauaile, to boul and find out, and execute ſuch, as were cul pable therein, but the Earle Murray?

In deede for his bodily preſence at the deede doing, I wil nothing affirme: he muſt

yelde

eld the price thereof to his companion the arle Bothwel. He muſt be contented for is ſhare, with the preeminence and prero-atiue of his ſpecial deadly foade towarde e Lorde Darley, and prepoſterous policie nd witte, ſo cloſely and ſo ſmothly to con-ey and compaſſe it, and beare out with ſo reate countenance ſo heinous a facte, and o reward him ſelf for his paines taken ther-n, with the extruſion of his Maiſtreſſe and Queene, and intruſion of him ſelf, though bſent, to the regiment and gouernment of the whole Realme.

This, this, I ſay may ſufficiently ſerue him for the aduauncement of his cõmendation and praiſe, and for the ſignificatiõ of his fine politike head and inuentiõ: I meane, for that before his departure out of Scotland into France, with his Matchiauels practiſes, he had ſo conningly cõtriued the whole mat-ter with his faction, that they ſhould procure not only the Earle Bothwel to be acquited of the murther, but for his good ſeruice to be rewarded with the Quenes eſpouſalles, intending by this miſchieuous policie, the vtter vndoing and ouerthrow aſwel of him the Earle Bothwel, as of the Q. her ſelfalſo.

There

There neuer lacked good wil in them, as it wel appeareth by their vngratious doing to haue long before ouerthrowen their sate Maistresse: but there euer lacked apparent matter, to blinde mens eyes withal, and to make her odiouse with the people. Now these wily men wel knew, that if they might once compasse and bring this mariage to passe with the Earle, whome they intended then as fast to blase abrode for the murther by him committed, as they did suppresse the same before from their good Ladie and Queene, vntil they had brought her to the baite: it would seeme very probable, not only to the eyes and iudgemēt of the rude and cōmon people, but also of many sage, graue, wise and learned men, that she was priuie of her husbands death. Whereby they might pretende one execrable acte against her that al men would detest aud abhorre, to colour and cloke their rebellious treacheries. Lucifer him self could not haue fetched a finer and a more mischieuous and diueliſh fetche, then herein these men haue done.

The cause vvhy the Enemies did impute the slaughter to the Q.

As for the Earle Murraies absence, it doth nothing releaue or excuse him: yea, it is

singu-

ſingulerly to be noted and marked, that his very iourneyes lacke not their fine fetches to ſerue his turne. Through his firſt iorney into France, he wan and purchaſed the high loue and fauour of his benigne Maiſtreſſe. He returneth out of England, at the very point ſeruing two turnes at once: by th' one hereof, to circumuent his good innocent Ladie, thinkīg to make her beleue by reaſon of his abſenc, ethat he was farre from the ſocietie of that conſpiracie: by the other, to aſsiſt the better with his preſence the confederates, and ſodenly to ioyne with them, as he did.

The vvorking of Murray in the time of his abſence

I graunt, that he was abſent bodyly at the facte doing: but yet nothing was done, the whiche was not by his counſel or agrement concluded. The which his deuiſe was ſo horrible, that it cauſed the murther of his Souereignes Secretarie, her impriſonment by her owne huſbande, that the Queene being greate with childe, was put in ſuche a feare, as might haue tended to the preſent danger of her life, and of her childe. Yea, the very ſcope of this diueliſh drift was, euen to haue ouerthrowē him alſo, whome they made their vnhappie and

vn-

vnlucky instrument, to ouerthrowe and de-
pose his owne louing wife and moste drea-
Souereigne.

These mysteries ful stuffed with such mis-
chieuous purposes, lo, wrought this Earle
in this time of his absence. Now it is to be
considered, that about sixtene houres be-
fore the Lorde Darley was slayne, the bet-
ter to colour the matter, he departed from
the Court. About twoo monethes after, he
toke his iourney into France, leauing the
Earle Bothwel as his moste entier and trusty
frinde, recommending al his causes and af-
faires to him before al other.

At his second returne from France, he in-
truderh himselfe into the Scepter Roial vn-
der the name and shadowe of the yonge
Prince. The which thing was so imagined
inuented and deuised, long ere that he de-
parted, and in his absence by his trustie frinds
remaining in Scotland, accordingly accom-
plished and executed.

The Queene was afterward apprehen-
ded, and cast into prison at Lochleue, where
his mother and brother dwelleth: vnto the
which Fortresse she should haue ben sent,
as we haue said, at the first cõspiracie of the

ſaid Murray, if their malitious mind and intent had not ben diſapointed by the prouidence of God.

Now what ſearche, when, and after what ſorte it was made for the ſaid Earle Bothwel, we haue already declared.

If ye alleage farther, and ſay, that no man can denie, but that the ſaid Earle Murray made alſo long diligent and narrow ſearch for the murtherers, and did ſeuerely puniſh them: to this we replie and ſay, that he needed not, to trauaile muche or farre for the ſewing out of this matter. For he might at al times haue found the heades of the conſpiratours vpon the Earle Murtons and his owne ſhoulders.

Murray and Morton the heades of the cõſpiracy againſt the L. Darley.

We ſay farther, that as it is a ſtrange and new kind of deuotion in the Earle Murray, ſo to quarel for lacke of ſolẽnitie at the burial of him, for whoſe ſaid burial he longed and loked for ſo long: ſo we ſay likewiſe, that it ſeemeth wonderful, to loue him ſo tenderly, being deceaſed and dead, whome he ſo depely hated liuing. And to ſeke ſo ſeriouſly and ſeuerely to puniſh the murtherers of him, whome he would ſo oft haue murthered himſelfe.

This geare seemeth (to vs poore simple and slender witted men) vnlikely, incredible and halfe repugnant to nature. And whatsoeuer the cause be, we be of that minde, that it is not likely to procede of any feruent zeale or greate affection he beareth to the partie, or to the execution of Iustice.

Ye are, good Reader, desirous peraduenture to learne, what other cause there might be, of so strange dealing. Wel, as strange as it is, we lacke not examples of the like craftie and subtile policie, as well in holy Scripture and in the monumentes of Antiquitie of diuers other Countries, as of Englande, and especially of Scotlande it selfe.

2. Machab. 3. & 4.

We finde then in Holy Scripture, that there was one Onias at Hierusalem the High Priest, a man of singuler vertue and perfection, and one that meruelously tendered Gods honour, and the honour and wealth of his Countrey. There was also at the same time one Simon, a very euil disposed and wicked creature, whiche went about certaine naughty and wicked deuises. But seeing that he could not atchiue his

mischieuous purpose, by reason this blessed man Onias stayed, stopped and preuented him, he practiseth this wicked deuise. He causeth Kinge Seleucus to be infourmed of the great and inestimable treasure remaining and reposed in the Temple at Hierusalem. Wherevpon the King sent Heliodorus, to fetch away by force the said treasure.

But afterward when this purpose chaunced to be frustrated and voide, by reason that this Heliodorus, being wonderfully plagued of God, was constreined to forbeare and relinquish this enterprise, and the people also wonderfully offended and in a great rage, to see such a heinous sacrilege attempted: what doth now, thinke ye, this good and honest man Simon? Surely he plaieth the same parte, that the Earle Murray hath played with his most gratious Queene, openly charging the good innocent Onias with his owne shamefull acte, and saying, that he solicited and incensed the King, to robbe and spoile the Temple.

We find in the Chronicles of our Realme, that albe it Vortiger aspiring to the Croune of the Realme, actually and really obteined

the same by the murthering of King Constance (whiche was not done without his craftie incensing and priuie consent) yet he pretended outwardly great sorow, weeping and lameting the murther of him, the which he neuertheleſſe longed for, and was the occasion of the same.

Hect Boet. Lib. 11. The Earle of Murray resembled to Dunvvaldus, that procured the slaughter of King Duffus in Scotland.

As for Scotland, I reporte me to the Tragical historie of King Duffus slayne by a Nobleman named Dunwaldus, who was in great estimation and autoritie with the said King. When the King was a bedde in the Castle, wherof this Dunwaldus had the keeping, he banketed his Chamberlaines, and so oppressed them with immoderate surfeting and drinking, that when they were once gotten about high midnight to sleape in their beddes, ye might haue rong a great bell ouer their heads long, ere they wold wake: who being in their dead and depe sleape, the King was murthered and slaine by such as this Noble man had suborned. His dead body was caried away and buried in a riuer. The labourers, that buried him, were also slaine, that they might tel no tales. In the morning the King was missing, his bed was found imbrued with blood. His drousy drun-

ken

ken Chamberlaines, that leaſt knew of the matter, were had in greateſt ſuſpicion, and without farther delay, by the ſaid Dunwaldus like a man zelouſe to puniſh malefactours, were ſlaine and put to death. No man being farther a great while from ſuſpicion, then he: vntil firſt his owne ouer buſie ſearching for the murtherers, and afterward other thinges bread vppon him ſuch ſuſpicion, that he was therevpon apprehended, and being found guilty, worthely executed. *Idem li.16.*

The like pranck plaied Duke Robert brother to the King of Scotland, and Gouernour of the Realme, of whome we ſpake before. He procured the Prince his nephew to be made away and murthered, and yet pretending himſelf as holy, as Murray doth, to be zealouſe in the puniſhing of ſuch an heinous facte, cauſed certaine innocent perſons to be executed therefore. The like paſte plaid by Duke Robert in Scotland.

We ſay then, that the Earle Murrayes dooinges proceede not from any great care he hath to the maintenance of law and Iuſtice, who is moſte culpable himſelfe; but only colourably to cloke and hide his owne miſchieuous treacheries, and to turne the

blame of the fault from him ſelfe, vppon his good Ladie and Queene, from whoſe perſonne it is fartheſt. Whereof they themſelues gaue in manner plaine teſtimonie and witneſſe. For though they had openly in their pretenſed and diſordered Parlament detected her thereof: yet before the Engliſhe Commiſsioners they alleaged other matters, as her voluntarie reſignation of the Croune, &c. The whiche allegations, when they wel ſawe, would not ſerue their turne, and that men did vnderſtand, how and after what ſorte they had proceeded againſt her in Scotland: they were, as it were, driuen and forced, being excluded from all other apparent ſhiftes, after ſeuen or eight weekes aduiſement, after their firſt inuective, to obiecte the ſaid facte againſt her.

The Earle Murray ād his ſelovves being driuen frō al other ſhiftes, at lēgth laied to their Quene the death of the Lorde Darley before the Counſaile of Englād.

Wherof the good innocent Queene hearing, and aſtonied at their ſtrange and contumelious cauillinges and impudencie in their doōinges, and being ſith her apprehenſion credibly enformed, and by apparencie of matter and proufe therof, lead and induced, to beleeue and geue credit, that this wicked enterpriſe was chiefly inuented and

compassed by the Earles Murray and Murton: made earnest sute by her Commissioners, to arrest them, that they should not shrinke away and depart, vntil they had answered that matter for them selues, whiche she fully intended most effectually to prosecute against them and others. And so did accuse them in deede by her Cõmissioners, and desired farther, that she might comme in her owne persõne before the Nobilitie and the Ambassadours of other Countries there resident, and goe foreward with and prosecute her said accusation against them.

Whereof they hearing: they fretted, they fumed, they stamped, they stared, and for a smal while made much hot sturre. But when they had wel considered and digested the matter, loking in their owne breastes, they became vpon the sodaine so colde, that they thought euery day an hundred, vntil they were packing home, and neuer ceassed, alleaging many vaine and friuolouse excuses to vrge their dimission moste importunately, vntil they had at the last obteined their sute.

O that Cassius were now liuig, that he might

lay to the Earle Murrais charge, his accuſtomed worthy ſaing, *Cui bono?* He would tel him, that as the Queene by this facte had no manner of hoped commoditie, and is of ouer good and vertuous diſpoſition and nature, in any reſpect of worldly commoditie, ſo to diſhonour her ſelfe and ſtate, and euen as th'Earle Murraies birth and natural inclinatiõ were moſt apt and mete to worke ſuch naughty practiſes: ſo were there many occaſions alſo for his parte, ſuch as he had beſt liking and contentation of, to the putting of the ſame in practiſe.

The cauſes vvhy the Earle Murray vvent about aſvvel to make avvay the L. Darley, as to depoſe the Queene.

Among other thinges, it pincheth him and al his faction, and greeueth them to the very hart, to remember the reuocation the Quene had made the April before of al ſuch thinges, as apperteine to the Croune, that had by her ſelf or others in her minoritie, ben alienated. Which reuocation by an old law and order in Scotland, the Princes ther may make before the accompliſhment of twenty and fiue yere of age. Now had the Earle Murray and his faction, by one meanes or other, gotten into their handes and poſſeſſion, two parts of the yearly reuenewes of the whole Croune.

See, see, I pray thee, good Reader, if this were not the very vndoubted cause, that made him and them so pitiful and so tender harted towarde the L. Darley being dead, whose death they had so long thirsted for, and whose life they had by so many snares and mischieuous waies assaulted and laied wait for.

Yea there was a farther, *Cui bono?* then this. They thought to driue by their ioly politike practises, al the displeasure and hatred of the facte vpon the Queene: and so for this pretensed mischieuous facte to driue her from the possession of her Croune, and to intrude them selues by some pretie colourable conueiances, into the sole intermedling with al the publike affaires, and to the Gouernement of the Realme vnder the title of the good Infant the Queenes sonne; and to assure their possessions to them selues, at leaste the space of twenty and fiue yeares more. But I pray God there be not a farther and a worse fetche, then al this commeth to.

Wel then, al these their foretolde purposes hath the Diuel brought to passe for them euen according to their harts desire:

ſauing that he oweth them a ſhame and wil pay it them, when they count them ſelues moſt cocke ſure. And begunneth (as it ſeemeth alredy) ful properly to pay them home euery one day more then other. For as cloſe and as ſecrete as they hid and kept their doinges from the world, eſpecially fro their good Quene, vntil they had quitted th'Earle Bothwel, and coupled him moſt diſhonourably with that vpright and wel meaning Ladie in pretẽfed mariage, they could neuer bring their matters to paſſe. And for al their vaine bragging and outfacing (as it were) their innocent Souereigne: their whole wicked drift is detected, burſt out and come to the certeine knowledge of no ſmal number of men.

Is it vnknowen, thinke ye the Earle Murray, what the Lord Hatris ſaid to your face openly, euen at your owne table a few daies after the murther was committed? Did he not charge you with the fore knowledge of the ſame murther? Did not he, *nullas circuitione vſus*, flatly and plainely burden you, that your riding in Fiffe, and comming with one of your moſte aſſured truſty ſeruants the ſaid day, wherein you departed from

Eden-

Edenborough, ſaid to him among other talke: This night ere morning the Lorde Darley ſhal loſe his life?

The Earle Murray declared the day before that the L. Darley ſhould be ſlaine.

Is it not ful wel knowen, thinke ye, that ye and the Earles Bothwel, Morton and others aſſembled at the Caſtle of Cragmiler and other places at diuers times, to conſult and deuiſe vpō this miſchief? If neede were, we could rehearſe and recompte to you the whole ſumme and effect of the oration made by the moſt eloquent among you, to ſtirre vp, exhorte and inflame your faction then preſent, to determine, and reſolue them ſelues, to diſpatche and make a hande with the L. Darley.

Diuers aſſembles of the Earle Murray ād his adherents to conſult vpon the ſlaughter of the L. Darley.

We can tel you, that there were interchangeable Indentures made and ſubſcribed by you, that he which had the beſt opportunitie offered to make him away, ſhould furthwith take it in hande and diſpatche him

Indentures made and ſubſcribed for the execution of the ſaid purpoſe.

We cā tel you, and ſo cā fiue thouſand and moe of their owne hearing, that Iohn Hepborne the Earle Bothwels ſeruant, being executed for his and your traiterous facte, did openly ſay, and teſtifie, as he ſhould anſwere to the contrarie before God, that you were prin-

principal authors, counſailers and aſsiſters with his Maſter of this execrable murther: and that his ſaid Maſter ſo tolde him, and farthermore, that he him ſelfe had ſene the Indentures we ſpake of.

Diuers executed in Scotland for the ſaid murther, vvhereof none could charge the Queene.

We can tel you, that Iohn Haye of Galoway, that Powry, that Dowgliſh, and laſt of al that Paris, al being put to death for this crime, toke God to recorde at the time of their death, that this murther was by your counſayle, inuention and drift committed. Who alſo declared, that they neuer knew the Queene to be participant or ware thereof.

Wel, we can farther tel you of the greate goodnes of God, and of the mightie force of the trueth. Whereby though ye haue wonderfully turmoiled and toſſed, though ye haue racked and put to death aſwel innocents, as guiltie, your owne confederats, and offred many of them their pardons, ſo they would depoſe any thing againſt the Quene: God hath ſo wrought, that as for no torments nor fayer promiſes they could be brought, falſly to defame their Maſtreſſe: ſo without any torments at al they haue voluntarily purged her, and ſo layed the burden vpon

your

your necks and ſhoulders, that ye ſhal neuer be able to ſhake it of.

We can tel you, that England doth wel knowe theſe your deteſtable practiſes, neither wil ſuffer it ſelfe to be ſpotted with the fauouring and aſsiſting of your abhominable doinges.

We can tel you, that this good Ladie is vniuſtly accuſed, and wrongfully oppreſſed, as good Suſanna was.

We can tel you, that ye altogether reſemble the two old wicked Gouernors that wrongfully accuſed her, as an aduoutreſſe, being the aduouterers them ſelues, and brought her into danger of preſent death by their falſe teſtimonie (as ye haue done with your wel intending Queene) for that ſhe would not conſent, and yelde to the old luſty leacherous rebels.

We can tel you, that if you do not the ſoner repent, ye ſee by example of them, what your rewarde ſhal be, and that in the meane while God hath as woderfully deliuered out of your handes this our innocent Suſanna, as euer he did the other from them. For though ſhe were kept ſo ſtraight in a ſtrong Forſtreſſe and Caſtle with watche

and

The Q. in a māner miraculously deliuered out of Lochleuen prison

and warde, in such sorte, that none of her wel willers and frinds, no not so much as the Frenche Kinges Ambassadors might be suffered to come at, or to speake with her: though she were daily guarded with greate nomber, though the gates were euery euening surely and customably locked, and the keies thereof were continually night by night deliuered to the Lord of the said Castle: though the botes were continually fastened and locked vp: yet God so wrought, that the keies of the said Castle were in the said Lords very presence taken away by a poore orphā simple boy being not yet eightene yeares olde, bred alwaies and brought vp in the same house. Which feate by him wrought, and a tokē or signification geuen therof to the Quene, she departed out of her prisonhouse into the courte thereof at seuen of the clocke at night, vpon the secōd day of Maie, and so passing, went to the said gates vnlocked and opened by the said orphan boye. Who taking bote also, rowed her and her waiting maide withal, with much a doe ouer the water.

Who hauing now passed the water, was on the other side receiued by certaine gētlemen,

men, and by them conueied and conducted to Hamilton: where ſhe before her Nobilitie reuoked, annihilated and made voide al that ſhe did in priſon before, with ſolemne proteſtation vpon her othe, that ſhe was violently forced thereto, and put in iuſt feare of the loſſe of her life.

After this it pleaſed God to put her in minde, to take her iourney into England, aſwel for the ſpecial and comfortable promiſes to her made before her comnig, by meſſengers, letters and tokens ſent from the beſt there, both cõforting and promiſing her (opportunitie ſeruing) al conuenient ſuccour and helpe, as that we Engliſhemen (which muſt needes honour and reuerence her, who is of the next roial blood and true Heir apparent of the Croune of this Realm of England) ſhould thoroughly knowe and fully vnderſtand, to our greate comfort, her purenes, integritie and innocencie in the matter: vnder pretẽſe wherof her traiterous and rebellious ſubiects, thereby to accõpliſh their ſeditious and ambitious minds and purpoſes, haue moleſted, vexed and diſquieted her in manner aforeſaid, and now at the laſt kepe her, not only from her Croune and

Realme:

Realme: but from al whatsoeuer either her priuate, or other goods, as vnwilling that she should either kepe the state and porte of a Prince, or any other meaner estate whatsoeuer.

Neither hath it altogether fallen out cõtrary to her expectation and desire. For the Nobles of England, that were appointed to heare and examine al suche matters, as the Rebels should lay against the Queene, haue not onely found the said Queene innocent and guiltlesse of the death of her husband: but doe withal fully vnderstand, that her accusers were the very contriuers, deuisers, practitioners and workers of the said murther, and haue farther also so much encreased and in suche wise renued the good estimation and greate hope they alwaies had of her, now perfectly knowing her innocency and therto moued through other princely qualities resplendent in her, with many whereof she is much adorned and singularly endued: that they haue in most earnest wise solicited and entreated, that she might be restored againe to her honour and Croune. They haue moued the said Queene of Scotland also, that it may please her to ac-

The Commissioners appointed in Englãd to heare the Quene of Scotlãd her maters vvel liked of her said

cep

cept and like of the moſt nobleſt man of all England, betwene whome and her there might be a mariage concluded, to the quieting and comforte of both the Realmes of England and Scotland.

innocency and of her title to the ſucceſsion of the Croune.

Finally the noblemen of this our Realme acknowledge and accept her for the very true and right heire apparent of this Realm of England, being fully minded and alwaies ready (when God ſhal ſo diſpoſe) to receaue and ſerue her as their vndoubted Queene, Maiſtreſſe and Souereigne: whereby it may eaſely appeare, howe wel they like of her cauſe, that had the hearing and trial of the ſame, although they neuer as yet came in her preſence.

These things now and many other (which for the eſchuing of prolixitie we forbeare to enlarge our Treatiſe with) may be alleaged for the defence of the Queenes integritie, and for the vprightnes of her cauſe, the whiche I would wiſhe you the Earles Murray and Murton with your allied confederats, before al other, moſt depely and bytimes to weigh and conſider accordingly, as the weight and greatnes of the cauſe, as your owne ſafety with the welth and honor

An exhortation to the Earles Murray ād Murton ād others to reconcile thēſelues to the Q.

of your owne natiue Countrey do require. I am not ignorant, that the matter is gone very farre with you, and that many impedimentes doe concurre to withdraw you, to ſeeke that remedy for reformation of things paſt, which is the beſt and the only remedy. But ſurely when ye haue fully weighed al thinges on euery ſide accordingly, ye ſhall finde no ſure and ſound remedie, but in making a true, a ſincere and an vnfained hũble ſubmiſsion to your gratious Queene, whom ye haue ſo greeuouſly offended and moleſted.

Let not the greatnes or number of your treaſons wrought againſt both your Quene and Coũtrey, let not any vaine falſe imagined opiniõ either of the ſhame of the world, or of your vtter ouerthrowe, by reaſon of ſuche fond preſumption of your preſent high eſtate, of your great power, force and ſtrength: let no vaine expectation of external ſuccours ſtay or ſtop you from ſo neceſſarie a duetie, and ſo commendable before God and the worlde. Ye beſt knowe, that among al the Princely ornamentes and vertues of your Queene, her mercy and clemẽcy are ſinguler and peerleſſe. She ſeemeth

The Q. of Scotlãd ful of mercy.

well to haue learned that leſſon of the Goſpel: If thy brother doe offend thee, forgeue him, not onely ſeauen times, but ſeauenty times ſeauen times. She will not onely forgeue, but forget alſo. She neither is ignorant, in what ſtate her Realme ſtandeth in, nor that extreme ſeueritie, from the which ſhe naturally abhorreth, is not of al other times now (againſt ſuche, as wil imbrace mercie offered to them) to be ſhewed and practiſed. She wil rather like the lawe of ἀμνησίας, obliuion and forgetfulnes, ſo much of the Writers commended. The great benefite wherof ye haue ſo often and ſo abundantly receaued at her handes. And therfore ye neede the leſſe to feare the diſcontinuance of your high and honourable eſtate and condition. As for ſhame, it ſtandeth in the euil doing it ſelf, and not in the amending and reforming of il deedes, which amendement and reformation if ye earneſtly and truely mind, it wilbe to the great contentation of your moſt gratious Queene, and of al her louing ſubiects. And in ſo doing, you ſhal both highly auaunce your honourable eſtate and eſtimation, and make her a good amends for

that which is paſt, and can not be reuoked.

But on the other ſide, if ye geue ouer and refuſe this occaſion now preſent, and go forward with your rebellious enterpriſes and attempts, minding to abide and trie the vttermoſte: ye muſt wilfully cut away and exclude from your ſelfe al good hope of mercie and pardõ, and take a wrong way for your owne ſaftie and preſeruation. For your cauſe is naught, and ſo ye well know it to be. And therfore can ye not loke to haue and obteine a good proſperous ſucceſſe and ende thereof. Wel ye may, as hitherto ye haue done, toſſe, turmoile and tumble al thinges vpſide dounewards for a while: but be ye aſſured, that Gods hande wil fal and light the heuier and with a greater paiſe vpon you at the length therefore.

The ende of Rebels euer vnhappy.

It is eaſy to be ſeen by the courſe of all times, aſwel by your owne very Stories at home, as by the Chronicles of all other Nations abrode: to what ende commonly ſuch ſeditious conſpiracies and treaſons do come to: that is, to the vtter ouerthrow and confuſion for euer of thoſe perſons, that worke, attempt, practiſe and mainteine the ſame. They ſeeme for a while to beare great

ſway; and al the world for a while to runne with them: but in the ende they faile and are cleane geuen ouer.

What meruaile were it, if a houſe ſhould not long continue, that is builded but vpon a yelding ſandy grounde? Ye haue builded and founded al your doinges vpon vntrue and lying ſlaũders and treacherous treaſons againſt your dread Souereigne. The ſincere veritie whereof we haue herein truely declared. The which being once throughly detected, and euidently knowen to ſuch, as ye haue in Scotland craftily abuſed, and ſhamefully circumuented (as ſurely it daily burſteth out more and more) ye ſhal ſee your ſelues ſodenly leaſt naked, and quite forſaken, euen of thoſe, who haue bene your greateſt aſsiſters, aiders, and furtherers. For, as the old prouerbe is, Trueth is the daughter of time. And as ye ſhal be leaſt alone at home, ſo can ye not looke for maintenance and vpbearing of foraine Princes. They wil not defile them ſelues and their honourable vocation with helping ſo foule a cauſe, and ſo dangerous and perilous a matter, that may tende to the moleſtation and hurt, not only of their owne ſtate,

Other Princes vvil not ſuffer the Quene of Scotland to be iniu. ried by her ſubiectes.

but of the ſtates of all Kinges Chriſtened.

Nay, ye muſt rather thinke, that othe Princes wil iudge and take it to touch then to nigh, to ſuffer ſuch a vilanie to paſſe an eſcape vnreuenged, and ſo good a Ladie t be left deſtitute and deſolate. The Emperou wil not beare it, France wil not beare it Spaine wil not beare it. And eſpecially En gland with her worthy Nobilitie wil no beare or ſuffer ſuch outragious dealinges a gainſt their next louīg neighbour, yea againſ the heire apparēt of this moſt noble Realme albe it that ye with your ſurmiſed lyes, the better to mainteine your vſurped and new erected Kingdome, put others in feare o their owne ſtate, in caſe the ſaid innocent Queene ſhould be reſtored to her Croune againe.

FINIS.